

VOL. XXXIV—NO. 180

SEPTEMBER, 1905

25 CENTS

THE ARENA

B. O. FLOWER: EDITOR

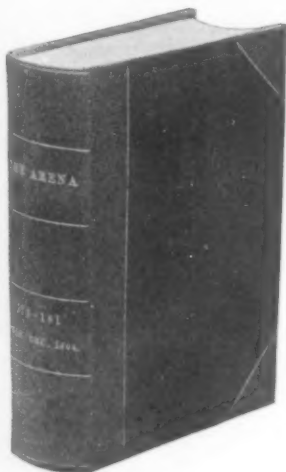


TRENTON,
N. J.

ALBERT BRANDT: PUBLISHER

BOSTON,
MASS.

Bound Volumes of The Arena



I HAVE ARRANGED to furnish bound volumes of this magazine, bound in cloth, gold stamp (including title, volume number and date), sewed by hand, for \$3.25, carriage prepaid. The volumes I have for sale are volumes 32, (July-December, 1904); and 33, (January-June, 1905).

Remit by post-office or express money orders, or by bank check, drafts or registered letter. Money sent in letters is at senders' risk.

JOHN A. CARAKER

*Maker of Hand-
Bound Bindings*

107-109 East Front Street
TRENTON, N. J.

THE MARKET PLACE

A MAGAZINE OF BUSINESS

Edited by ELTWEED POMEROY
Associate Editor of THE ARENA

THE MARKET PLACE deals with the wants and needs of the average business man, with the ethics, impulses, tendencies of the marketplace, with the comedies, pleasures, pains of business. While a magazine of business, it is hoped that *The Market Place* can be profitably read by every thinking man or woman.

MONTHLY 50 CENTS A YEAR

Liberal Terms to Agents

Send 4 cents in stamps for a sample copy and full particulars

RICHARD G. BADGER, Publisher
194 BOYLSTON STREET, BOSTON

SAFE SOUND RELIABLE

Every Student of Economics Should Read

THE LABOR WORLD OF DULUTH, MINN.

It matters not what your position in life is you cannot become an authority on Economics unless you keep in touch with labor's side of the great industrial controversy.

The student of present day conditions will find "The Labor World" a useful help in his studies.

It discusses the labor question from the workingman's point of view.

It publishes the ablest articles on every question affecting the welfare of labor.

It prints the latest and most interesting labor news in the country.

It treats editorially all current questions affecting the political and industrial welfare of capital and labor.

The "Union Shop," "Labor Politics," "Child Labor," "The Shorter Work Day," "Public Ownership," "Individual Liberty," "The 'Paryite' Movement" and a score of other interesting topics are ably discussed in its columns.

Every workingman, employer of labor, professional man, student of economics and business man should read it.

SUBSCRIPTION \$1.00 PER YEAR.

Advertising rates upon application.

THE LABOR WORLD

W. E. McEWEN, *Publisher*, Duluth, Minn.

(Send for Sample Copy.)





Photo. by Reutlinger, Paris

EDMOND ROSTAND

THE ARENA

"We do not take possession of our ideas, but are possessed by them,
They master us and force us into the arena,
Where, like gladiators, we must fight for them."—HEINE.

The Arena

VOL. XXXIV.

SEPTEMBER, 1905

No. 190

THE THEATER OF EDMOND ROSTAND.

BY ARCHIBALD HENDERSON, Ph.D.

Of the University of North Carolina.

"I hope I shall always keep to the purpose that has so far guided me, of setting forth the fine and worthy in life, rather than the despicable; the clean and beautiful rather than the ugly; the noble and inspiring rather than the perverted."—*Interview with Edmond Rostand.*

IT WAS not many years ago that Henry James, in a review of the literary status of contemporary France, wrote these significant words: "The great historians are dead—the last of them went with Renan; the great critics are dead—the last of them went with Taine; the great dramatists are dead—the last of them went with Dumas. Daudet, so individual and beautiful, died but yesterday. Maupassant passed away the day before." When James wrote these words, Edmond Rostand had not yet traced his name, in delicate yet unfading chirography, in the roll of the century's great. His "Les Romanesques" had already ushered him forth upon the stage of publicity; his "Cyrano de Bergerac" had not yet advanced him to the footlights of fame. Although he has been declared an impostor and a shameless plagiarist, although his mind has been declared unbalanced, his poetry verbal trickery and his drama mere melodrama, yet the distinguished honor of election as an Im-

mortal or one of the Forty, is vindication ample and complete enough for a young man who has barely reached the age of thirty-seven.

I.

Edmond Rostand was born on April 1, 1868, at Marseilles, France, and it was there that his education was first begun. The College Stanislas in Paris claims the honor of having had him within its walls: he first wrote and published verses while a student there. His favorite authors, he tells us himself, were always Shakspere, Dickens and Victor Hugo. The patron of his early efforts was Jules Clarétie, who urged him from the first to submit plays for presentation at the Comédie Française. Rostand suffered disappointment in his first attempt, a one-act play—probably "Le Gant Rouge"—which was refused. The disappointment, however, stirred him to more sustained effort, and he next wrote a three-act comedy, "Les Romanesques," which was accepted with special honor at the Comédie Française, crowned by the French Academy, and awarded the Toirac Prize of four thousand francs for the best play given during the year at the

Comédie Française. "The first thing I knew," writes Rostand, "Sarcey was proclaiming me the 'modern Regnard,' and I was booked to write comedy all my life. But I had no intention of accepting any such narrow mission. What I wanted to depict and study was life. So I wrote a play forthwith, "*La Princesse Lointaine*," that was delicate, sad and tender, and I let the critics reprove me as they pleased. Yes, I knew what I was doing. And then I wrote "*Cyrano*," which, I suppose, has a little of everything in it, like the world about us."

Coquelin accepted Sarah Bernhardt's invitation to attend Rostand's first reading of "*La Princesse Lointaine*." From the very first line his attention was riveted, his senses charmed. After the reading was over he walked home with M. Rostand and had a long talk with him about his work and ambitions. When they parted he said to M. Rostand: "In my opinion you are destined to become the greatest dramatic poet of the age. I bind myself here and now to take any play you write (in which there is a part for me) without reading it, to cancel any engagement I may have on hand, and produce your piece with the least possible delay."

With such faith expressed in his powers, and such a promise for their ultimate fulfilment, Rostand felt inspired for some vast and dazzling undertaking. From that day forward, although his life was lived in a tiny circle, his mind was compassing wide revolutions. His first idea, after two months of work, was rejected in favor of a later one, that of making *Cyrano de Bergerac* the central figure of a drama laid in the city of Richelieu, D'Artagnan, and the *Précieuses Ridicules*—a seventeenth-century Paris of love and duelling. Although the conception of a hero such as *Cyrano* had been maturing in Rostand's brain for a number of years, according to his own statement, it was a mere chance that threw in his way an old volume of *Cyrano*

de Bergerac's poems, which so delighted him that he immediately began to study the life of that unfortunate poet.

Despite the fact that Dumas had so thoroughly exploited the D'Artagnan type of the Gascon bravo, Rostand remained enthusiastic and hopeful of the success of his projected drama. When his "*La Princesse Lointaine*" proved a failure in London, and gained only a *succes d'estime* in Paris, Rostand's dejection was truly pitiable. He sank into a mild melancholy, refusing for more than eighteen months to put pen to paper. "As he slowly regained confidence and began taking pleasure once more in his work," writes M. Coquelin of him at this period, "the boyish author took to dropping in on me at impossible morning hours to read some scene hot from his ardent brain. When seated at my bedside, he declaimed his lines until, lit at his flame, I would jump out of bed, and wrapping my dressing-gown hastily about me, seize the manuscript out of his hands, and, before I knew it, find myself addressing imaginary audiences, poker in hand in lieu of a sword, with any hat that came to hand doing duty for the plumed head-gear of our hero." The work gradually grew under Rostand's hands,—countless midnight hours were spent upon it. At last the play was finished.

The success of "*Cyrano de Bergerac*" has passed into dramatic history. All Paris was beside itself with joy: the literary primacy of France was once more assured as in the palmy days of *Émile Augier*, *Dumas fils* and the Third Republic. No such theatrical event had occurred in France since the production of Victor Hugo's "*Hernani*," the pivotal point in those fierce battles between the Classicists and the Romanticists. Francisque Sarcey and *Émile Faguet* were rapturous and unbounded in their praise, *Faguet* speaking of the dazzling *première* at the Porte-Saint-Martin as the greatest dramatic event in France within the last fifty years. In the midst of the tremend-

ous enthusiasm at the *première*, Rostand alone remained cool. After the curtain fell on the last act, he and his wife drove out to their *chateau* at Boissy St. Leger. There they remained for more than a week, waiting until the first wave of enthusiasm should be overpast.

Goethe says somewhere, that as soon as a man has done anything remarkable, there seems to be a general conspiracy to prevent him from doing it again. He is fêted, caressed, his time is taken from him by breakfasts, dinners, societies, idle business of a thousand kinds. With the plaudits of a world—with the cry ringing in his ears, "A Shakspeare or a greater than Shakspeare is here," Rostand still did not permit himself to be seduced even by the adulation of his own dear Paris. With confidence in the star of his genius, he next attempted the difficult task of surpassing himself. He chose for his theme the touching history of the King of Rome, the son of Napoleon I. All the patriotic illusions and glorious traditions of the "Napoleonic legend" lured him on. The title-rôle, reserved for Sarah Bernhardt, was designed for the constant display of her histrionic genius. "I thank God that He has let me be alive now to interpret a part, at least, of what this great genius will produce," she writes in Gallic enthusiasm and impetuosity. "If Rostand were to die, it would be a calamity to mankind, for he is bringing in a new period in the drama—a clean, wholesome period. If Rostand were to die, I think—why, I think I should want to die too." *Il ne manquait que ça!*

The remarkable and unprecedented success of both "Cyrano de Bergerac" and "L'Aiglon" constitutes one of the most brilliant pages in the annals of French dramatic literature. No such reception as was accorded Rostand's masterpieces had been given to a play in France on its initial production in the history of the stage. Corneille's "Cid," perhaps the most epochal play in all lit-

erature, was severely criticised, aroused the jealousy of Richelieu and the Academy, the open attacks of Scudéri, Mairêt and others; and finally, gave rise to the celebrated "pamphlet-war," one of the most well-known incidents in the history of letters. Racine's "Britannicus" and "Phedre" met with mordant and well-nigh destructive criticism. Beaumarchais' "Le Mariage de Figaro" owed a very large measure of its marvelous success and popularity to the political allusions it contained. Vigny's "Chatterton" and Hugo's "Hernani" aroused literary battles of fierce intensity and long duration. There is a striking similarity between the circumstances attendant upon the production of François Ponsard's "Lucrece" and of Rostand's "Cyrano," as was suggested by M. Edouard Rod in one of his lectures before the Cercle Française of Harvard University a few years ago. At the time his "Lucrece" was produced in Paris in 1843, Ponsard was twenty-nine—Rostand's age at the time of the "Cyrano" production. This tragedy of "Lucrece" was hailed on all sides as a deliverance from romanticism, a return to classicism, and the beginning of a new era in French letters. Under a mere disguise—the backward swing of the pendulum—we have recently seen history repeat itself, as it so often does in literature as well as life. Untainted by the passion violence of Dumas, innocent of the pallid ratiocinations of Ibsen, the heroic comedy "Cyrano de Bergerac" was thought to mark the end of Ibsenism, the revival of romanticism, to give the *coup de grace* to the ultra-realistic régime of the Theatre Libre.

Ever since Henrik Ibsen, the poet-prophet of the nineteenth century, attracted the attention of the French literary world by penetrating the sex-relationship with the X-ray of his relentless logic, the younger playwrights of France vied with each other in imitating him. Just as German writers at the close of the eighteenth century sought to burst the

bonds of French classicism and hoisted the standard of Shakspeare and Rousseau, so the last quarter of the nineteenth century saw the French dramatic writers emblazoning the name of Ibsen upon their banner. The warnings and protestations of Sarcey, and even of the French public, went unheeded. Ibsen and the problem-play reigned supreme; French dramatic literature became permeated with foreign influences; individuality was for a time stifled. Such a condition could not long exist.

It was just at this time that "Cyrano de Bergerac" came like morning sunlight to dispel the mists of Ibsenism with which the atmosphere of dramatic art in France had become obscured. Here at last was a truly French play, excelling in theatrical brilliance, brimful of life and fire, bathed in a flood of poetry and song; untouched by the mysticism of Maeterlinck, untrammelled by the problems of Ibsen, untainted by the pruriency of D'Annunzio; a play light, clear and delicate; brilliant, sparkling, coruscating as a diamond with a thousand facets; dazzling in verbal luxury, in extravagant fancy, in scintillant flash of wit and epigram. Here was poetry, not pathology; clarity, not obscurity; vitality, animate with romance, rather than the lifeless skeleton of the closet. Here too was history, not hysteria: the closed book of the seventeenth century opened, and Cyrano de Bergerac, D'Artagnan, the Précieuses, and the gay guardsmen came forth from the sepulchre of its pages and lived again. The French public bade glad farewell to Ibsen's greatness, and hailed Rostand with an enthusiasm that almost taxes credulity. "Great is Romance, and Rostand is its prophet," was the watchword. The brilliant writer and actor, to whom the play had been gracefully dedicated—"To Coquelin, into whom the soul of Cyrano has passed"—with unbridled appreciation exclaimed, "Ah, Rostand! What a mind, what a genius! I know no greater play than 'Cyrano.'"

It is not a matter for great surprise that "L'Aiglon" coming after "Cyrano," should have stirred the Parisian world to its depths. For here the gold of the Napoleonic *régime* was reminted into a new currency and the young King of Rome chosen for the medium of circulation. One other moving cause of the success of Rostand's plays, his masterpiece "Cyrano" in especial, was his genius as a dramatic director. The same estimative faculty that called the Englishman a "political animal" would no doubt dub the Frenchman a "dramatic biped." And that is just what M. Rostand is: a dramatic biped. In all the situations that the genius of M. Rostand has touched, the most conspicuous elements revealed are mastery of effect and technique, the scenic sense, and, more than all, theatrical intelligence. Even his bitterest defamers give him credit for admirably perfect carpentry.

Like Shakspeare, like Molière, like Ibsen, Rostand has gained his wide knowledge of stagecraft through personal direction of his own plays. Bernhardt declared him to be a finished actor, and Coquelin said that when "Cyrano" went into rehearsal his wonder grew again: Rostand almost lived at the theater, drilling each actor, designing each costume, ordering the setting of every scene. "We were in rehearsal," says Coquelin, "about two months and a half, with some sixty repetitions, and during that time I never knew Rostand to be in doubt before any dramatic tangle, or to make an error in judgment." Had it not been proscribed by custom, Rostand would have acted in his own plays. In default of that, he always reigned supreme as theatrical director. "On one point I stand firm: I will have no line or situation in any play of mine that is not wholly my own. If one of my company were to give me a splendid climax, just what I was seeking, I would not use it, for if I did, I would no longer be the master, and that I must be."

II.

The delicate, airy, Watteau-like picture painted in Rostand's first successful play, "*Les Romanesques*," is of far more interest to-day than when it was crowned by the French Academy. The scene is laid anywhere, so it be in a garden of bright flowers and green trees. "The time of the play is immaterial," read the stage directions, "provided the costumes be pretty." The play is a fanciful and jesting burlesque of the scheme of "*Romeo and Juliet*," with two old fathers, Bergamin and Pasquin, playing the rôles of Montagu and Capulet, while Percinet, son of Bergamin, and Sylvette, daughter of Pasquin, play the parts of Romeo and Juliet respectively. The fathers wish the children to fall in love and, with keen insight into human nature, assume hatred for each other and pretend to place obstacles in the way of the children's love. Of course the young creatures fall into the trap and become ardent lovers, delighting in circumventing their fathers' plans and pluming themselves upon their romantic attachment.

A swaggering braggadocio, Straforel, perhaps the most Shaksperian of all M. Rostand's creations, is hired by the two fathers to arrange a mock abduction of Sylvette, so that Percinet may have an opportunity to rescue her, and thus bring about, in the children's eyes, a reconciliation between the fathers. The plan is carried out successfully. After heroic struggles with the abductors Percinet rescues Sylvette, the fathers become reconciled, and the children are enraptured over the triumph of love and romance.

This closes the first act and in itself embodies a complete comedy, a light satire upon the folly and blindness of romance. But Rostand is not content with this as an ending. Although ignorance is bliss for the lovers, Rostand does not deem it folly for them to become wise. So in turn Sylvette and Percinet, by acci-

dent of circumstance, gain a glimpse of Straforel's bill for the abduction of Sylvette. The sight of the itemized account: "To Straforel (as per bill), one imitation rape, to bring betrothal on, etc.," punctures the shining bubble of their romance, and their love, as Shakspeare has it, falls into low price and abatement, even in a minute. The marriage plans are shattered, Percinet rushes off to brush against the real world, and Straforel is left to mourn his unpaid bill.

Realizing that the prodigal will return sooner or later, the psychologist Straforel plans to unite the lovers a second time. So he devises a means of demonstrating to Sylvette the absurdity and undesirability of a life of so-called romance. Disguised as a duke, he courts Sylvette, and with clever art inspires her with fear and dislike of the Bohemia of reality. When Percinet returns, bruised and shocked by his rude encounter with the world of fact, Sylvette welcomes him with outstretched arms; and thus ends the play, with lovers and parents happy, and Straforel's bill paid at last.

The whole delicate comedy is in a light and satiric vein, a sort of merry jest at life, a travesty on love. Through it all runs a meaning not to be ignored. In this play is found a broad hold of craft-mastery, the hurrying flash of dialogue, the mellowing glamor of romance. It is wholly free from any trace of modern morbidity or decadence; unsullied by the joyless pessimism and passional degeneracy of modern France. Straforel is an exuberant and extravagant creation, in direct line of ancestry with that tremendous creation, Cyrano; incarnation of *l'esprit Gaulois*, but still possessor of a large grasp of human nature and of life: a vital and picturesque *moquer*. It was that authoritative critic, M. Jules Lemaitre, who said of this play: "Its execution appears to me remarkable. This is brilliant stuff; all sparkling with wit, and in places glowing with a large and easy sense of gaiety."

"*La Samaritaine*," described as "An Evangel, in three tableaux," the play that comes next to "*Les Romanesques*" in point of time, is, as its title proves, the story of the woman of Samaria. In its mystic and reverential appeal it touches the English pre-Raphaelites, Burne-Jones and Rossetti, on the one hand, and the Continental mystics, Maeterlinck, Huysmanns and Verlaine, on the other. Its emotional appeal and dramatic power give it a place beside Paul Heyse's "*Mary of Magdala*," so artistically produced in this country by Mrs. Fiske. Photine, the courtesan in M. Rostand's play, is a figure of vivid and intense beauty, moving across the stage with all the passionate earnestness and fervor inspired by the words and presence of Christ himself. The utterances of the Master are always those of the Gospel transcribed into flexible and poetic form. This play could not be produced in England or the United States, because of the employment of the Christ as a leading dramatic figure. Mme. Bernhardt protests against the Anglo-Saxon view as a puritanical and unnatural one; and of her emotions in interpreting the character of Photine, she says: "The rôle exhausts me more than any I have ever interpreted, because of its spiritual intensity. You know I am a believer, as Rostand is, and the play becomes a reality to me every time I go through it. And the audience—Ah! if you could only see how they crowd the theater at Eastertide when we put on '*La Samaritaine*.' All kinds of people come, those who never go to church, women who have done wrong, priests, children, old men. And as they listen to the simple story they are moved to the heart, they weep, they pray. I am sure that play does more good in the world than many sermons."

In its subtle blending of the idealities of love with the actualities of passion, the subjective self-examination, the minute tracery of feeling, "*La Princesse Lointaine*" is essentially a product of modern-

ity. Rudel, idealist and romantic to the last, seeks his princess far away, even to the very door of death. Swaying like a willow between the moribund Rudel and the living reality Bertrand, Melissinde seizes with self-deluding eagerness upon Sorismonde's flattering unction: "You will not see him who was dear to you in the divine splendor of a dream, because you would not see him in the horrible haggardness of the fact; you would keep the recollection of your love still noble." "Ah, yes," replies the Princess, "that is the only reason." And yet the actuality of life, when put to the test, pales before the radiance of imaginative romance. It is the ideal that ultimately conquers. "The romance of chivalry has its good points," says that arch-skeptic Bernard Shaw, in a review of the play (*Daly's Theater*, London, June 17, 1895); "but it always dies of the Unwomanly Woman. And M. Rostand's '*Princess Far-Away*' will die of Melissinde. A first act in which the men do nothing but describe their hysterical visions of a wonderful goddess-princess whom they have never seen is bad enough; but it is pardonable, because men do make fools of themselves about women, sometimes in an interesting and poetic fashion. But when the woman appears and plays up to the height of their folly, intoning her speeches to an accompaniment of pipes and horns, distributing lilies and languors to pilgrims, and roses and raptures to troubadours, always in the character which their ravings have ascribed to her, what can one feel except that an excellent opportunity for a good comedy is being thrown away? If Melissinde would only eat something, or speak in prose, or only swear in it, or do anything human—were it even smoking a cigarette—to bring these silly Argonauts to their senses for a moment, one could forgive her. But she remains an unredeemed humbug from one end of the play to the other; and, when at the climax of one of her most deliberately piled-up theatrical entrances, a poor green

mariner exclaims with open-mouthed awe, 'The Blessed Virgin!' it sends a twinge of frightful blasphemous irony down one's spine. Having felt that, I now understand better than before why the Dulcinea episodes in *Don Quixote* are so coarse in comparison to the rest of the book. Cervantes had been driven into reactionary savagery by too much Melissinde." Shaw's words were prophetic.

III.

Émile Augier long since affirmed that dramatic art is as dear to the French as it once was to the Athenians, and M. Rostand has done much to justify the truth of this assertion. "L'Aiglon" however is less the dramatic than the epic poem of modern France. All the heroic traditions of the Napoleonic era, all the magnificent drama of France in the noon-day of its glorious supremacy, go pulsing through it in a lyrical tide of majestic and rhetorical sweep. Every chord is touched, every string set singing in the heart of modern France. The great protagonist of the poem is not the hesitating and impotent Eaglet, nor yet the stern impersonation of authority, Metternich, but the transcendent glory of the first Napoleon, that great flame in all history, which his son calls

"That mighty name, which throbs with guns and bells,
Clashes and thunders."

The play glows from first to last with fiery and impassioned rhetoric, summoning always the ghost of the Napoleonic legend. This is poetry indeed, on a lofty and elevated plane, devoted almost solely to the aim of playing upon the theme of Napoleonic greatness. It has been remarked with much truth that it is primarily because Rostand is a poet that he has put completely "in the shade" such an incomparable stage-machinist as Sardou.

From the standpoint of dramatic action, the play is loosely constructed,

giving us a series of picturesque scenes rather than a logical and orderly succession of distinct, decisive actions. Judged in detail, the play, it must be stated, makes the most universal demand upon the actor or actress interpreting the character of the irresolute young duke—a demand for the whole range of histrionic power. In bringing into play all the tricks and devices of theatric and scenic technique, which are so completely at his command, M. Rostand has sacrificed the general unity and solidarity of effect which is the *sine qua non* of great tragedy. Ardent admirer of Rostand that he is, Coquelin nevertheless has said: "'L'Aiglon' is beautiful, but it will not live on the stage. Why? Because it is a poem, a grand poem, rather than a play."

Certain passages of the play are in swelling and majestic verse, lines of genuine epic swing and burning rhetorical fervor. Reichstadt's apostrophe to his father's name, and Metternich's soliloquy over the hat of Napoleon are glowing flames of poetic fire. Certain scenes in the play are of high dramatic intensity touched with the psychological imaginativeness of modernity. The mirror scene, where Metternich extinguishes in the Eaglet the flicker of Napoleonic fire with the damp of Austrian impotence, and the scene on the battlefield of Wagram, reminiscent of Victor Hugo's celebrated description of the battlefield of Waterloo, are moments of terrible and tragic power.

"L'Aiglon" is essentially a moral tragedy, the struggle of the son of Maria Louisa to be the son of Napoleon as well; not his son in name only, but the legitimate child of his glory, his feats of arms, his colossal achievements. The young Eaglet, impotently straining for flight, never achieves his ambition, for he is ever vacillating, fitful, hesitant.

"Like a poor prisoner who falls a-dreaming
Of vast and murmuring forests, with a tree
Fashioned of shavings, taken from a doll's house,
I build my father's Epic with these soldiers."

The clear struggle of hereditary qualities constitutes the real action of the play. The conqueror is not the daring spirit of Napoleonic resolution, but the hesitant vacillation of a long line of morbid and introspective monarchs.

In the soul of the Eaglet M. Rostand has built the epic of Napoleon's greatness. In the Eaglet's failure to realize this Epic, lies both the expiation and the punishment of Napoleon's transgressions.

"I am the expiation.
All was not paid, and I complete the price.
"T was fated I should seek the battle-field,
And here, above the multitudinous dead,
Be the white victim, growing daily whiter,
Renouncing, praying, asking but to suffer,
Yearning toward heaven, like sacrificial incense!

"T is meet and right the battle-field should offer
This sacrifice, that henceforth it may bear
Pure and unstained its name of Victory.
Wagram, behold me! Ransom of old days,
Son, offered for, alas! how many sons!
Above the dreadful haze wherein thou stirrest,
Uplift me, Wagram, in thy scarlet hands!
It must be so! I know it! Feel it! Will it!
The breath of death has rustled through my hair!
The shudder of death has passed athwart my soul!
I am all white; a sacramental Host!
What more reproach can they hurl, O Father,
Against our hapless fate? Oh hush! I add
In silence Schoenbrunn to Saint Helena!—
"T is done!"

IV.

In "Cyrano de Bergerac" the student of the history and literature of the period sees unrolled before his very eyes the Paris of 1640, and, athwart the moving picture, that admiration-compelling and lovable type of the French guardsman, cloaked, booted and spurred, his hand on his rapier, gay, fearless and honorable—and daily realizing the supreme ideal of his age, "*un beau coup d'épée*."

The reconstitution of the Paris of the seventeenth century is an achievement worthy of the best traditions of French dramatic literature, and this alone is almost enough to make the play great. Not only has M. Rostand thrown upon the stage a genuine story of the period, and given us a presentation rather than

a representation of the age, its form and pressure, but he has everywhere indicated, by the most delicate and allusive touches, the French temperament and a definitive type of racial psychology. And in many respects it is the real Cyrano de Bergerac that M. Rostand has given us—that real Cyrano who once wrote heart-brokenly to his friend Le Bret: "*Je suis le second du tout le monde*."

In the beginning of the play, after the celebrated theater scene where Cyrano surges up out of the crowded pit of the Hotel de Bourgogne with his terrible nose and his "*Ah! je vais me fâcher*," it is the D'Artagnan of history who steps forward to congratulate him. In the end of the play, the greatest compliment of all is paid Cyrano, for Molière has robbed him of the celebrated *galère* scene in Cyrano's own drama "*Le Pedant Joue*." This is an historical fact, for Molière, whose avowed doctrine was "*Je prends mon bien ou je le trouve*," actually inserted two scenes from Cyrano's play into his own drama "*Les Fourberies de Scapin*." Rostand's revival of this historical incident aroused so much interest in the life of the poet Cyrano de Bergerac, and his claims as a dramatist, that his play "*Le Pedant Joue*" was produced and published in 1900 by the Cercle Française of Harvard University. In that perilously ludicrous scene, where Cyrano delays De Guiche until Christian and Roxane are married, the six methods of reaching the moon there detailed are taken from the real Cyrano's book, entitled *Les Voyages dans la Lune et dans le Soleil*. As Cyrano's comedy "*Le Pedant Joue*" is interesting to-day for its influence upon Molière's "*Les Fourberies de Scapin*," so Cyrano's satire upon his age, *Les Voyages dans la Lune et dans le Soleil* is chiefly of interest because of its influence upon Swift's *Gulliver's Travels*.

In Cyrano M. Rostand has given us almost a new type in literature, so many-sided, so complex, so composite is the character. Cyrano is a hero animate

with the joy of life, the merry jest at death—buoyant in spirit, flamboyant in temperament. In every chosen vocation of his life he is magnificent, colossal, supreme. If, like Falstaff, he dilates upon his exploits, yet, like D'Artagnan, he makes good his every boast. If, with Gascon fanfaronade, he declares that at his passage through the crowd, true sayings ring like spurs, yet his pride as a poet is not without reason, for the greatest French dramatist of all time pays him the extraordinary tribute of robbing his play of two whole scenes. If, as William Winter reminds us, "he would appear, like Acres, to keep a private graveyard, yet, like Sydney Carton, he is capable of magnanimous passion and holy self-sacrifice." If, like Hamlet, he ever sounds the renunciatory note of gaunt despair, yet he is ever capable of action in that life he dared to live so largely. His silence after Christian's death is the pure symbol of his loyalty to Christian, his devotion to Roxane. When Roxane, at the end, asks him, "Why, why have been silent all these long years, when on this letter, in which Christian had no part, the tears are yours?" Cyrano's sad reply is, "Because the blood was his." Although he replies to De Guiche's query if he has read *Don Quixote*, "I have, and at the name of that divine madman I uncover," yet, like Bayard, he is the soul of true chivalry and honor—*sans peur et sans reproche*.

The conception of a hero, whose nobility of soul would be offset by some physical defect, Rostand affirms had long been maturing in his mind. It was with eagerness and delight that Rostand caught at Cyrano de Bergerac. For here was one who had really lived, the very hero of his dreams. And in Cyrano he created a type of high-souled magnanimity, noble self-sacrifice, and pure devotion that fills the heart with deep and regenerative pathos. Cyrano plans Roxane's happiness, with no selfish hope of reward. Christian casts insults in his teeth: Cyr-

ano, for Roxane's sake, forgives him. Roxane avows her love for Christian: Cyrano promises to protect him. He woos Roxane for another and sees that other take the kiss that belongs to himself. He lends Christian his soul, his genius, his poesy, and receives for his reward only bitterness and despair at the sight of Christian's bliss. "We shall compose together a hero of Romance," but it is Christian who is to tread the boards, play the gallant rôle and pluck the flowers of love and happiness, while Cyrano, in the dimness of anguish, from behind the scenes, plays the self-tormenting prompter. He gives joy and happiness to others: to himself none can he award. He saved others: himself he could not save. When at last Christian bids him speak, when his cup of hope is brimming over and the supreme moment of his life is at hand, a shot rings out, and with a definitive, heart-rending cry, he bids farewell to all his hopes. His lips, like Christian's, are sealed for evermore.

It is inconceivable that Cyrano ever could or would consciously condemn the woman of his heart to a life of misery with a brainless dolt. In the balcony scene, when he is expressing himself at highest potency, his words to Roxane are unmistakable in import: "Ah, for your happiness now readily would I give mine, though you should never know it, might I but, from a distance sometimes, hear the happy laughter bought by my sacrifice." Thus he resigns all to Christian, believing him to be a man worthy of her choice, for at one place he calls him a "fine fellow," and at another he speaks of him as "Christian, the comely and the kind." He believes that Roxane's marriage to Christian will bring to her heart that "happy laughter bought by his sacrifice." Of Cyrano in his love, as of Romeo, it might truly be said:

"Affliction is enamored of thy parts,
And thou art wedded to calamity."

V.

After the celebrated duel scene in the first act, a magnificent and heroic musketeer steps forward, congratulates Cyrano with warmth, and then vanishes. No theatrical byplay this, but a symbol of deep and vital significance. The generation inspired by the message of Walter Scott welcomed with open arms the D'Artagnan of Alexander Dumas. To-day the generation inspired by the mes-

sage of Robert Louis Stevenson bids hail to the Cyrano de Bergerac of Edmond Rostand. The Musketeer D'Artagnan congratulates the Musketeer De Bergerac, but are not these figures of still grander proportions? Is it not rather the spirit of the first half of the nineteenth century congratulating the spirit of the first half of the twentieth century upon Edmond Rostand and the return of Romance?

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.

Chapel Hill, N. C.

DIRECT POPULAR LEGISLATION: THE CHIEF OBJECTIONS EXAMINED.

BY CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER, LL.M., Ph.D.

Judge of the Court of First Instance, Philippine Islands.

THE ATTITUDE of expert and professional opinion has not, as a whole, been favorable to the extension of the Swiss referendum. While there are notable exceptions,* eminent specialists in political science, as well as distinguished representatives of the bench and bar,† have expressed themselves adversely to the system. Now that direct-legislation has ceased to be a mere hobby of the professional agitator and theoretical reformer, is in actual operation in some states,‡ and bids fair to become a live issue in others, and especially now that its constitutionality has been judicially affirmed,§ it ought to be of value to inquire into the reasons for this attitude on the part of those who are supposed to speak with authority, and to ascertain how far it results from mere conservatism and dislike of radical change and how

far it is due to the actual demerits of the proposed system.

An examination of the literature of the subject will disclose that the chief objections urged by these opponents of the referendum may be reduced to four, viz., (1) Indifference of electors; (2) complexity of legislation and incapacity of electors; (3) obliteration of distinction between constitutional and other law, and (4) impairment of legislative influence.

I.

Of these the first is the one most frequently and insistently urged. Even so moderate and impartial an observer as Albert Bushnell Hart says of the institution in its original home:

article in 13 *Yale Law Journal*, 248; 58 *Central Law Journal*, 81, 244.

‡ It is in full force in South Dakota, Utah and Oregon, and in a modified form in Arizona; is authorized as to municipal matters in California, Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Nebraska, Washington and Wisconsin; and is employed in Canada and Australasia, besides, of course, its original home—Switzerland.

§ In *Kadderly vs. City of Portland (Or.)*, 74 *Pac. Rep.*, 710.

* Among these is Professor A. V. Dicey. See his article, "Ought the Referendum to be Introduced into England?" *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 57, p. 502.

† See address of President U. M. Rose before American Bar Association, 1902; 25 *American Bar Association's Report*, 239, and cf. Judge Sherwood's article, "The Referendum under the United States Constitution," 56 *Central Law Journal*, 247; also

"I must own to disappointment over the use made by the Swiss of their envied opportunity. On the twenty referenda between 1879 and 1891, the average vote in proportion to the voters was but 58.5 per cent.; in only one case did it reach 67 per cent. and in one case—the patent law of 1887—it fell to about 40 per cent. in the Confederation and to 9 per cent. in the Canton Schwyz. On the serious and dangerous question of recognizing the right to employment, this present year, only about 56 per cent. participated. In Zurich there is a compulsory voting-law, of which the curious result is that on both national and cantonal referenda many thousands of blank-ballots are cast. The result of the small vote is that laws duly considered by the national legislature, and passed by considerable majorities, are often reversed by a minority of the voters. The most probable reason for this apathy is that there are too many elections—in some cantons as many as fifteen a year. Whatever the cause, Swiss voters are less interested in referenda than Swiss legislators in framing bills." *

So M. Deploige, a Belgian critic who is none too friendly, declares of the referendum:

"It is a little ridiculous to talk of legislation by the people when more than one-half the citizens refuse to exercise their legislative rights." †

But it seems not to have occurred to the opponents of direct-legislation that this line of argument would tell quite as strongly against a cherished American practice—the submission of constitutions

to a popular vote. Judge Simeon E. Baldwin, speaking of a state where submission has been followed from the first says:

"Experience shows that much less interest is taken by the people in propositions for constitutional amendments than in elections to office. The personal element is always wanting, and, generally, that of party advantage."

The strife between Hartford and New Haven for holding the state capital was of special interest to every citizen, and great efforts were made to call out a full vote on the part of each, yet a fifth of the electors who cast their ballots for state officers in 1873 cast none on the constitutional amendment. And the change to biennial elections, in 1884, was carried by little more than a fourth of those who took part in the general election, the total vote for state officers being considerably more than double that cast on the proposed amendment. The prohibition question has excited as much interest as any not connected with the immediate success of one of our great political parties, but at the decisive vote in 1889, only 72,746 ballots were cast, though those for governor, at the last preceding state election, numbered 154,226, out of a total registry of 167,529. ‡

In 1887, out of a total electorate of over 31,000 in Delaware, less than one-half took the trouble to vote on the question of calling a convention. In 1891, when the voters appear to have increased to 35,000, there were still less than fifty per cent. who cast their ballots. §

ord says: "Our readers have seen the correct figures. In Zurich the average for twenty years was 74 per cent. On all the national referenda up to date the average, not merely the registered voters, but of the entire population, has been nearly 60 per cent."

† *The Referendum in Switzerland* (Trevelyan's Translation, London, 1898), p. 280.

‡ *The Three Constitutions of Connecticut* vs. New Haven Historical Society Papers (New Haven, 1894), p. 241.

§ See Oberholtzer, *The Referendum in America*, p. 135; *McPherson's Handbook*, 1888, p. 72; 1892, p. 136.

* "Vox Populi in Switzerland," *The Nation*, Vol. 59, p. 193. See also a letter by Professor Hart in the *Direct-Legislation Record*, Vol. 1, p. 81, and an extended reply by the editor who concedes that the figures in so far as they concern the national referenda are "correct or approximately so." In the same number of the last-named publication at page 80, the following statement is quoted from a writer on the Referendum in the *New York Tribune*: "It is seldom that fifty per cent. of the registered voters can be persuaded to cast their ballots." Commenting on this the editor of the *Direct-Legislation Rec-*

236 Direct Popular Legislation: The Chief Objections Examined.

In Nebraska, in 1896, the electors were invited to vote on no less than twelve amendments to the constitution. The total vote for the office of governor in that year was 217,768, while on the very important amendment relating to the increase in the number of supreme court judges, there are reported as having been cast only 122,475, or about 61 per cent. of those cast for gubernatorial candidates.* Indeed, proposed amendments have been submitted in that state in all but two of the even years since 1881,† and only one of these has been declared adopted.‡

Now the benefits of popular ratification form a subject on which there is a practical unanimity of opinion among the publicists of the present day.§ Professor Hart himself observes:

"In the United States we have already the good effects of the referendum, so far as it deals with changes of the constitutions, the permanent and superior part of our law." ||

Among these "good effects" are, it is generally conceded, the permanence of constitutions¶ and the educational influence upon the electors—all this in spite of the fact that a large percentage apparently fails to exercise the privilege. It is difficult to understand why similar advantages might not accrue by applying the system to ordinary legislation.

Moreover, in some parts of the country, at least, the voters display a growing appreciation of their function as constitution-makers. Thus in California, during

a period of a dozen years, in which some twenty-eight amendments were submitted, an average of about two-thirds of those voting at the election availed themselves of their right to pass upon these proposed changes in the fundamental law. On the question of extending the franchise to women, which was submitted at a presidential election, 83.4 per cent. of those voting for presidential candidates registered their choice, while the lowest constitutional vote during the period was 39.4 per cent., which was cast on an amendment to which there was little opposition.** In Texas and other states of the South and West, the figures reveal on the part of the electorate an increasing interest in constitution-making.

Even in the instances referred to above as indicating a different condition, there were qualifying circumstances. The Delaware, and at least one of the Connecticut, instances were special elections which hardly ever afford a fair test of the voter's real interest. In Nebraska most of the rejected amendments received a majority of the votes cast thereon and were lost by reason only of the constitutional requirement of a majority of all votes cast at the election. A light vote on constitutional amendments may also frequently be explained by the comparative unimportance of some, or, on the other hand, by the strong probability of their adoption on account of their general acceptance or for some other reason.

But conceding that the electors do fail to take as much interest in abstract questions in the form of proposed constitu-

¶ "A general survey of this branch of our inquiry leads to the conclusion that the peoples of the several states, in the exercise of this their highest function, show little of that haste, that recklessness, that love of change for the sake of change, with which European theorists, both ancient and modern, have been wont to credit democracy; and that the method of direct-legislation by the citizens, liable as it doubtless is to abuse, causes, in the present condition of the states, fewer evils than it prevents."—Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (2d ed., Chicago, 1890), Vol. I, p. 457.

** Moffett, "The Constitutional Referendum in California," 18 *Political Science Quarterly*, 14.

* *Id.*

† See *Tecumseh National Bank vs. Saunders*, 51 *Neb.*, 802.

‡ See an article by Judge Charles B. Letton in the *Omaha Bee*, October 5, 1902.

§ Bryce, *The American Commonwealth* (2d ed.), p. 457; Borgeaud, *Adoption and Amendment of Constitutions* (Hazen's Translation, Chicago, 1895), p. 346; Jameson, *Constitutional Conventions* (4th ed., Chicago, 1887), pp. 490-1; Eaton, "The Late Constitutional Convention of South Carolina," 31 *American Law Rev.*, 198.

|| *The Nation*, Vol. 59, p. 194.

Direct Popular Legislation: The Chief Objections Examined. 237

tions and laws as in the election of candidates, does it follow that the system of direct popular action is a failure or that the state's interests would be promoted by discarding it?

"The lack of an absolutely full vote on any question," says Mr. Moffett, in the article above referred to,* "is . . . not a disadvantage but the reverse. It means that only those who feel some interest in the subject, and are therefore prepared to act with a certain intelligence, take the trouble to vote and that the members of the unintelligent residuum voluntarily disfranchise themselves."

It may be, and apparently is, true that more electors will go to the polls to vote for certain individuals for office than will exercise the higher privilege of determining the character of the state's laws. In other words, a personal and concrete subject arouses greater interest than an impersonal and abstract one. But it surely will not be claimed that those who vote simply for candidates and fail to vote on proposed laws are actuated by patriotic or even intelligent motives. We have seen that the framers of the first popularly-adopted American state constitution sought to make ours "a government of laws, not of men"; the voter who goes to the polls because, and merely because, he wishes one or more individuals elected to office and who ignores the opportunity to express his choice concerning the laws, must be deemed to be more interested in the fortunes of indi-

viduals than in the welfare of the state and to have failed to attain a high standard of good citizenship.

II.

M. Simon Deploige, in his objections to the referendum declares:†

"The elector who writes Aye or No on his ballot-paper performs an act, the apparent simplicity of which has attracted the democrats, but this act is, as a matter of fact, a very complex one. It requires that each voter should be able not only to understand why legislation is necessary, but also should be able to judge whether the law in question is adequate to meet the case. Nothing effectual has as yet been devised which would assist the elector in forming a personal opinion on such a subject."

But it may well be asked if this is not after all an indictment of popular government in general rather than merely of popular legislation, and whether as a matter of fact the people are not now, in the last analysis, required to determine these questions but to do so under a system which disguises and conceals the fact that they are involved? When the American electorate is called upon to choose a president or a congress, or when the British voter is asked to register his choice for members of parliament, the result usually determines the fate of important measures vitally affecting the national policy. But these are not the questions

vide for their application by means of decrees or ordinances. Partly for this reason, and partly on account of the small size of the country, the number of laws passed in a year is far less than with us. Is it not evident that while a people may vote intelligently on five or ten laws a year, it is absurd to suppose that they could vote intelligently on four hundred? How could they be expected to consider independently each one of four hundred different measures? Is it not clear what they would do? They would not attempt to consider each law separately, nor even to understand it at all, but they would vote on them all as their party-leaders directed." "The Referendum in Switzerland and in America," 73 *Atlantic Monthly*, pp. 523-4.

* "The Constitutional Referendum in California," 13 *Political Science Quarterly*, 14, 15.

† *The Referendum in Switzerland* (Trevelyan's Translation, London, 1898), p. 238. Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, an American critic of the referendum, thinks that the difficulties would be multiplied if the system were adopted in the United States. "The relations of the executive and legislative in Switzerland," he says, "are very different from what they are in this country, for a great deal of what we should consider legislation falls into the province of the Swiss executive. The laws are passed in a comparatively simple and general form, and the executive has authority to complete their details and pro-

238 *Direct Popular Legislation: The Chief Objections Examined.*

most discussed in the campaign before the people. Instead of simplifying the voter's task the present system too often complicates it by involving the merits of a question with others, like the personality of candidates, or the necessity of party success.

"It is often said," observes Mr. Lecky,* who certainly cannot be suspected of any predilections toward democracy, "that there are large classes of questions on which such a popular opinion could be of little worth. To this I have no difficulty in subscribing. It is very doubtful whether a really popular vote would have ratified the Toleration Act in the seventeenth century, or the abolition of the capital punishment of witches in the eighteenth century, or Catholic Emancipation in the nineteenth century, or a crowd of other measures that might be enumerated. It is now, however, too late to urge such an argument. Democracy has been crowned king. The voice of the multitude is the ultimate court of appeal, and the right of independent judgment, which was once claimed for the members of parliament, is now almost wholly discarded. If the electorate is to judge policies, it is surely less likely to err if it judges them on a clear and distinct issue. In such a case it is most likely to act independently and not at the dictation of party wire-pullers."

III.

Mr. A. Lawrence Lowell, in an elaborate article says:

"Our whole political system rests on the distinction between constitutional and other laws. The former are the solemn principles laid down by the people in its ultimate sovereignty; the latter are regulations made by its representatives within the limits of their authority, and the courts can hold unauthorized

and void any act which exceeds those limits. The courts can do this because they are maintaining against the legislature the fundamental principles which the people themselves have determined to support, and they can do it only so long as the people feel that the constitution is something more sacred and enduring than ordinary laws, something that derives its force from a higher authority. Now, if all laws received their sanction from a direct popular vote, this distinction would disappear. There would cease to be any reason for considering one law more sacred than another, and hence our courts would soon lose their power to pass upon the constitutionality of statutes."†

But the referendum is not a system under which "all laws receive their sanction from a direct popular vote." Its adoption means not the abolition of the legislature but primarily the maintenance of a wholesome check thereon, and at most the providing of an alternative system. In Switzerland the bulk of legislation is still enacted by the representative body.

Moreover, there are those who would not consider it a serious calamity if our courts should lose some of "their power to pass upon the constitutionality of statutes." In this day when important and beneficial statutes are often annulled on purely technical grounds,—when inferior courts and even ministerial officers assume to pass upon the constitutionality of laws,—the adoption of a system which would necessarily check this tendency, could hardly be regarded as an unmixt evil.

Finally it should not be overlooked that this objection is not peculiar to the referendum but that it could be made and has been made in reference to popular constitution-making. Woodrow Wilson declares‡ that in our recent funda-

† "The Referendum in Switzerland and in America," *Atlantic Monthly*, (1894), Vol. 73, p. 525.

‡ *The State*, sec. 896.

* *Democracy and Liberty*, Vol. I., pp. 289-90.

mental codes "the distinctions between constitutional and ordinary law hitherto recognized and valued, tend to be fatally obscured" and it is common to deplore the tendency of the framers of these instruments to encroach on the field of general legislation.* But whether or not this tendency is as dangerous as is claimed, it seems unlikely to be prevented by keeping out the referendum.

IV.

Professor Dicey, speaking with reference to the British legislature, says:

"The referendum diminishes the importance of parliamentary debate and thereby detracts from the influence of parliament. That this must be so admits of no denial; a veto, whether it be exercised by a king or by an electorate, lessens the power of the legislature."†

Mr. Bryce expresses the same thought when he says that direct popular legislation "tends to lower the authority and sense of responsibility in the legislature."‡

But the loss of legislative influence is already an accomplished fact.

"The American people," declares Professor Commons,§ "are fairly content with their executive and judicial departments of government, but they feel that their law-making bodies have painfully failed. This conviction pertains to all grades of legislatures, municipal, state and federal. The newspapers speak what the people feel; and judging therefrom, it is popular to denounce aldermen, legislators and congressmen. When congress is in session, the business interests are reported to be in agony until it adjourns. The cry that rises towards the end of a legislature's session is humili-

ating. . . . This demoralization of legislative bodies, these tendencies to restrict legislation, must be viewed as a profoundly alarming feature of American politics."

Nor are such expressions confined to the writers of one country.

"I do not think," says Mr. Lecky,|| "there is any single fact which is more evident to impartial observers than the declining efficiency and the lowered character of parliamentary government. The evil is certainly not restricted to England. All over Europe, and, it may be added, in a great measure in the United States, complaints of the same kind may be heard. A growing distrust and contempt for representative bodies has been one of the most characteristic features of the closing years of the nineteenth century. In most countries, as we have already seen, the parliamentary system means constantly shifting government, ruined finances, frequent military revolts, the systematic management of constituencies. In most countries it has proved singularly sterile in high talent. It seems to have fallen more and more under the control of men of an inferior stamp: of skilful talkers and intriguers; of sectional interests or small groups; and its hold upon the affection and respect of nations has visibly diminished."

Mr. Dicey writes in a similar vein.

"Faith in parliaments," he declares,¶ "has undergone an eclipse; in proportion as the area of representative government has extended, so the moral authority and prestige of representative government has diminished. . . . The proposals for elaborate schemes of proportional representation, the denunciation of the party system by brilliant and weighty writers

* See e. g. Eaton, "The Late Constitutional Convention of South Carolina," 31 *Am. Law Rev.*, 198.

† *Contemporary Review*, Vol. 57, p. 502.

‡ *The American Commonwealth* (2d ed.), p. 453.

§ *Proportional Representation*, pp. 1, 8.

|| *Democracy and Liberty* (New York, 1896), Vol. 1, pp. 142-3.

¶ 13 *Harvard Law Review*, pp. 73, 74.

who express in language which few men can command sentiments which thousands of men entertain, all bear witness to the widespread distrust of representative systems under which it, occasionally at least, may happen that an elected parliament represents only the worst side of a great nation."

Even so conservative a writer as the late E. L. Godkin* gives this testimony to the discredited plight of modern legislatures:

"At present, as far as one can see, the democratic world is filled with distrust and dislike of its parliaments, and submits to them only under the pressure of stern necessity. . . . They (democracies) seem to be getting tired of the representative system. In no country is it receiving the praises it received forty years ago. . . . There are signs of a strong disposition, which the Swiss have done much to stimulate, to try the 'referendum' more frequently, on a larger scale, as a mode of enacting laws."

Indeed, instead of impairing the prestige of legislatures the referendum seems

to offer the one means of saving what little of it still remains. Probably the one fact which has contributed more than any other to lower the tone and standing of legislative bodies is the presence and influence of the lobby. If important measures were subject to a reference to the people before attaining the finality of legislation the power and influence of the lobby would be greatly reduced, if not destroyed. Such, at least, has been the experience of South Dakota as declared by its chief executive.†

These, then, are the results of a somewhat extensive search for the opinions of those who are supposed to speak with authority in opposition to the referendum. The arguments advanced and the reasons given seem far from convincing. This is not saying that there are no sound objections to the referendum. But if that system is to be condemned by the masters of political science it would seem that they must do so upon other grounds than those commonly urged.

CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER.
Tacloban, Province of Leyte,
Philippine Islands.

FRANK F. STONE: CALIFORNIA'S MOST GIFTED SCULPTOR.

By B. O. FLOWER.

I.

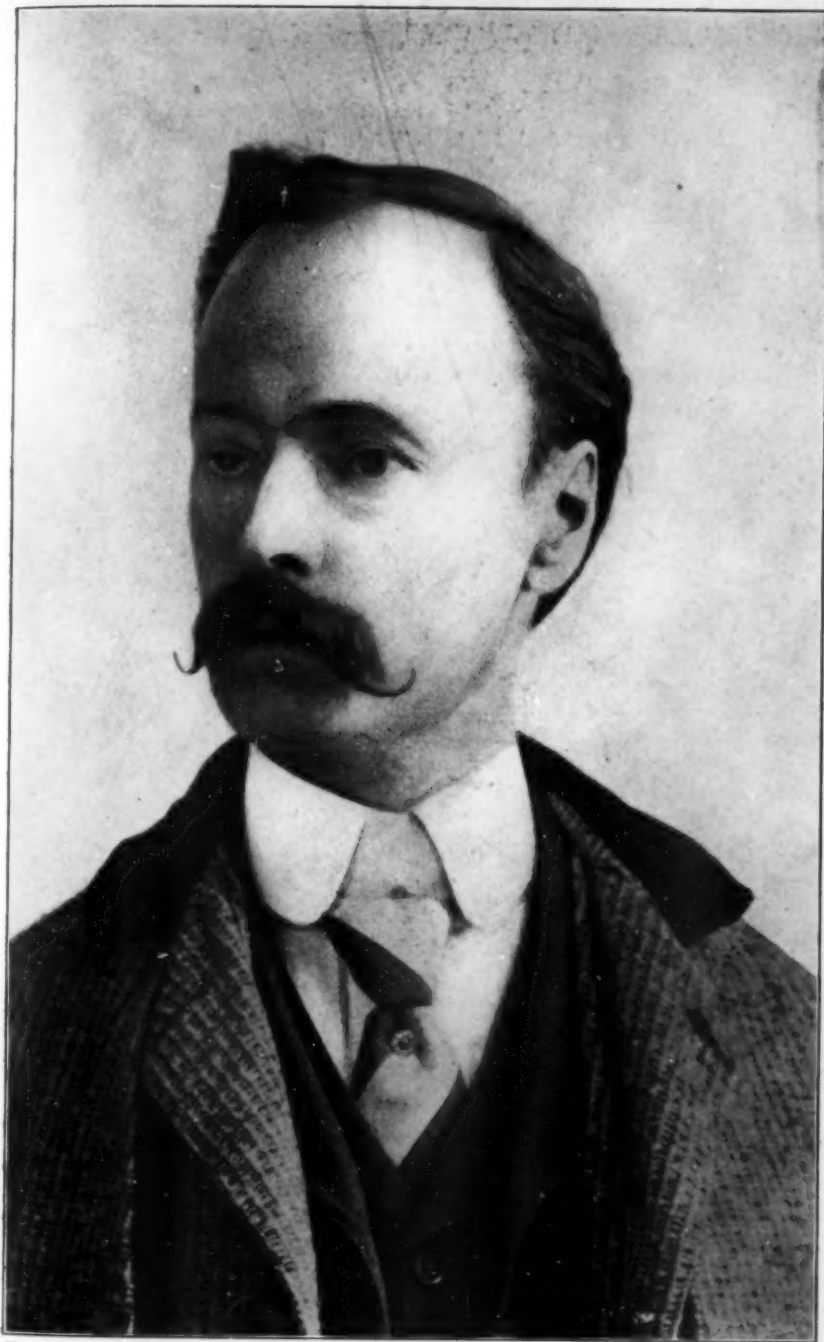
THE ARTIST, the poet and the musician acting in harmony with the great Mother, minister to the profound emotional depths and feed the imagination. The moralist and the prophet of lofty spirituality appeal most compellingly to the conscience or ethical nature, or the sense of duty and right. The philosopher, the discoverer and the scientist

appeal primarily to the intellectual in its narrow significance, leading us from height to height up the Himalayas of thought. All these groups are necessary to the rounding out of perfect manhood. They are the high-priests of civilization, the apostles of culture, ever ministering to the vital sides in the higher nature of man.

The artist, poet and musician as servants of idealism and interpreters of the soul of beauty feed the imagination with

* "The Decline of Legislatures," 80 *Atlantic Monthly*, pp. 51, 52.

† See *The Independent*, Vol. 54, p. 1,977.



Photo, by Coules, Los Angeles

FRANK F. STONE

THE ARENA





Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

WHISPER OF THE DAWN.

living water; and barring the joy that is born of the love for sentient life, their work yields more pure, unalloyed and exalted pleasure than aught else known to civilized man.

In new nations art necessarily waits on the brawn and the brain of the pioneer and home-builder; and later, when the forest and the wilderness have blossomed into homes, gardens, orchards and fruitful fields, and when the hoarded wealth of nature in mountain fastnesses and recesses of the earth has been taken from its storehouses and utilized for light and fuel, for building and the multitudinous services of our complex life, then a people turns instinctively and yearningly to its artists, poets and musicians, calling them to give something of that bread of life which ministers to the high demands of man.

Until recently our great republic has offered little encouragement to the sculptor, the painter or the creator of divine melody, but with the astounding material

development of the past fifty years a change has been wrought so that now in our metropolitan centers, especially of the East and central West, evidences are not wanting of an esthetic awakening that presages a great American art. In the meantime here and there in remote regions men of genius and talent are holding high the standard of true art and in various centers are creating a love for the beautiful and a critical appreciation for fine art that is inestimably valuable to the region in which they are faithfully laboring.

On the Pacific coast there is a sculptor of marked ability who is dowered by nature with a poet's rich imagination. He is creating some remarkably fine work which must necessarily do very much toward stimulating the artistic taste in the land of sunshine and roses, of the grape and the golden poppy. It is not strange that California is proud of her eminent sculptor, Frank F. Stone, whose home is in Los Angeles. Indeed, we

imagine that though her people appreciate the genius of the gifted sculptor, they little dream of the value to their commonwealth that comes from such labor as he is performing—creating noble artwork and fostering the love of the beautiful in their midst.

II.

Mr. Stone was born in London, England. His father was a man of education and refinement, an idealist and a dreamer of fine dreams, but one of those many fine natures of our time utterly unsuited for the hard, grinding, shrewd and crafty commercial life of this age of gold-worship. An unkind fate cast his lot among the slaves of trade. He was a lumber-merchant, and though he struggled manfully to succeed without sacrificing a jot or tittle of his high principles or lowering his ideal of rectitude and integrity, he finally failed financially, and when little Frank was but three years old grim poverty took up her abode in the little home. Early the child was compelled to toil long hours to help in the battle against starvation. His school advantages, though limited on account of the necessities of the family, were eagerly improved to the utmost. But much of the time that should have been consecrated to the health and culture of body, brain and soul during the formative period was spent in the treadmill of an irksome toil wholly distasteful to the boy, who, like his father, had inherited the poet's temperament.

The pittance he earned added little to the family's meager store, and lack of sufficient food of the right kind, long hours of labor, unsanitary conditions and the beating of ambition's wings against the iron bars of fate's unkind prison, all conspired to undermine the never very

robust health of the lad, laying the foundation for nervous dyspepsia which later, when fortune smiled upon him, well-nigh wrecked his life-work. Like Charles Dickens and Gerald Massey, whose boyhood fell a little more than a generation earlier, young Stone's youth was rendered bitter by pinching poverty; yet the Angel of Beauty did not wholly desert her own. She, who, according to the poetic legend, wanders through the world visiting the hovels of the poor and the palaces of wealth, and over whatsoever cradle she bends and smiles, henceforth and forever the sleeping babe is marked for her own and is eternally haunted by the ideal and dowered with a passionate love of the beautiful, loved the boy and with her deathless sister, Hope, attended the youth even during his

long hours of labor, whispering in his ear words of courage and inspiration, and the child's brain was filled with beautiful images. His imagination was fed as by a perpetual but hidden spring, even amid gloomy, repellent and soul-deadening environment. Whenever he could snatch a few moments he could call his own and found himself possessed of chalk or crayon, he strove to



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

SIR HENRY IRVING.



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

THOMAS CARLYLE.



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

THE AGE OF ROMANCE.

picture forth some of the beautiful images that haunted his brain. No time was idled away, but as the slow months lengthened into years and the lad grew to early manhood's estate, what wonder if his heart grew faint and courage all but deserted him? He had passed the threshold of twenty and no congenial avenue had opened for him.

One day, however, a well-known artist saw some of young Stone's chalk-drawings and insisted that the work showed "the sculptor's hand." As a result the young man came under the instruction of Richard Belt, sometime sculptor to Queen Victoria. Here was the longed-for opportunity, and though circumstances compelled the youth to toil early and late, by burning the midnight oil he was able to give the necessary time to his new work. Naturally enough he threw his whole energy into his labor. His imagination for the first time was satisfied. He had entered his own realm—the fairy-land of the poet and artist. His

progress astonished even his friends, and soon the excellence of his work was noised abroad. He received several orders and with the returns from them was able to devote his whole energy to his chosen work. More than this, he was able to satisfy that inborn craving of all normal natures and become a home-builder, by wedding the one who had won his love.

As the months passed it seemed that fortune had at last claimed the sculptor for her own. Many eminent men came to his studio for sittings. Gladstone heard something of his battle and desired to meet the young sculptor. Before the visit was over the great Commoner had made an appointment for sittings and had given him an order for a bust the result of which was highly satisfactory to the statesman and to the English people, judging from the fact that over six hundred copies of the medallion of Gladstone that Mr. Stone made at the same time were sold in England and the Colonies.

One of the sculptor's greatest triumphs

was a bust of Cardinal Manning, made in his Jubilee year. The sittings which were given for this work were the last the great prelate gave to any sculptor, and the result more than delighted the Cardinal's most intimate friends. *The Review of Reviews*, of London, published a pic-

friends to be by far the best bust of the Cardinal that was ever made.

Many other of England's most distinguished men also sat for the sculptor. Seldom has fortune smiled more genially upon a favored son than she smiled at this time upon the young sculptor. Fame



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

THE WORKER.



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

"DON'T!"

ture of the bust and the editor in referring to it and other works of the artist observed: "Mr. Frank Stone, whose bust of Cardinal Manning is the best that has been done of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, has brought out a series of medallion portraits of Mr. Stanley, Mrs. Booth, Mr. Gladstone and Lord Tennyson, very faithful likenesses."

This work was pronounced by Cardinal Manning's secretary and intimate

held her wreath above his brow. He had youth and ambition, he joyed in his work, and now money came in so freely that the young people were able to begin to save something beyond their expenses. The future seemed very bright and shadowless, when all at once, as is so often the case in this strange life of ours, two clouds appeared above the horizon and steadily grew, casting ominous shadows over the happy home. The first was the failure



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

INNOCENCE AND DEATH.

of the health of the sculptor. Never robust, he had drawn too heavily on his reserve strength. Poverty, the malnutrition of early days, the feverish struggle for success when art gave him the opportunity for which he had dreamed, and the long hours of labor at night when nature demanded rest, culminated in nervous dyspepsia that for a time threatened his life. Even more distressing to the young artist was the serious danger that imperiled the life of the young wife. She went into a decline. A physician was summoned who after a careful examination announced that she was threatened with tuberculosis. "Only by prompt removal from London can her life be saved," he gravely declared. "Nor will it do to fly to the rural districts. Her hope lies in getting to the pure, dry, sunny and genial air of the New World—that part of Canada far removed from the ocean or the genial climate of southern California. Either might and doubtless would work a cure."

No time was lost in acting on the physician's urgent advice. The household belongings were sold and the little money already saved was taken, and the artist and his wife set out for Canada. Later—now five years since—they removed to Los Angeles, where Mr. Stone has since resided and where he is working out many noble dreams.

When in London he made a great reputation with his wonderfully life-like medallions of eminent personages. In this

issue we give typical examples of these in the portraits of Henry Irving and Thomas Carlyle. His fine and original concept, "He of Nazareth," which we published in the July *ARENA*, is one of his most noted works. It presents the author's idea of Jesus as the "Man of Sorrows." In it he emphasizes more of the humanity of the Christ, more of the soul-weariness, more of "the man vulnerable at times to discouragements," than are found in any other sculptor's dream of the great Galilean with which we are acquainted.

Two of his creations that impress us as especially fine are "Innocence and Death" and "The Worker." The former is an exceptional concept shadowing forth the imaginative power and poetic nature of the sculptor. Death has no terror for Innocence. The wild, weird face so associated with Death is absent here. In its stead is the serene if inscrutable friend who gives to innocent childhood when summoned by the Master, no less than to the wearied ones that have wrought faithfully and worthily,

a rest from their labors, perplexities and anxieties; or shall we not more truly say, who lifts the sable curtain and leads them into the many mansions of the Father's house?

"The Worker" is a powerful and suggestive creation that is the very opposite in its concept of "Innocence and Death." In referring to this work Mr. Stone has written the following descriptive lines:

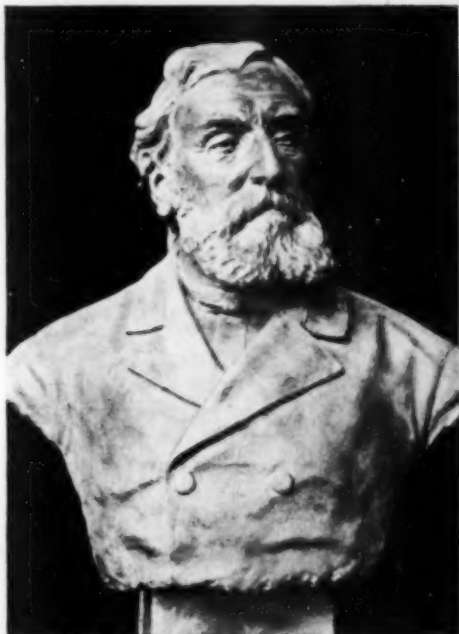


Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

THE LATE SENATOR STEPHEN M.
WHITE OF CALIFORNIA.

"What makes he? Everything—yet shiftless goes;
Omnipotent well nigh, yet crass of brain;
His chiefest works on drones and cheats bestows,
While for himself he welds an endless chain."

In a lighter vein is a charming concept representing a mischief-loving boy. It is entitled "Do n't!" and is full of life and spirit. And indeed the rare power of catching and reflecting the soul of man or the spirit that animates the dream of the artist is one of the great excellencies of the sculptor's work. This is notably in evidence in Mr. Stone's recent statue of the late United States Senator Stephen M. White, of California, in his bust of Charles Kendall Adams, LL.D., sometime president of Cornell University and of the University of Wisconsin, and also in his recent and wonderfully spirited ideal concept, "The Whisper of the Dawn." This last work is one of the



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

CHARLES KENDALL ADAMS, LL.D.

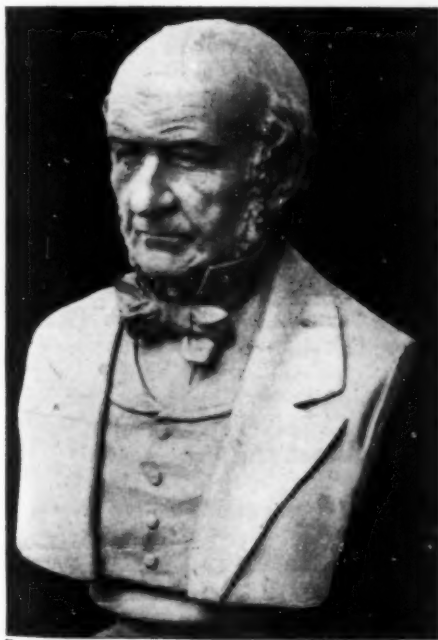
Late President University of Wisconsin. Sometime
President Cornell University.

sculptor's latest creations. Another recent work that is noteworthy and typical is entitled "The Age of Romance."

It will not be surprising if the time comes when the art-loving citizens of California who have patronized Mr. Stone will find the works they possess valued far beyond their cost to them; for in our land the men of imagination, the true artists, poets and dreamers who shall stand as the pioneers of the great art that is coming, will be more and more appreciated and their creations will ere long be treasured above price as the works of the advance-guard in the awakening of the great Art-Spirit in the New World.

B. O. FLOWER.

Boston, Mass.



Frank F. Stone, Sculp.

GLADSTONE.

THE ECONOMIC STRUGGLE IN COLORADO.*

II. DOMINANT TRUSTS AND CORPORATIONS.

BY HON. J. WARNER MILLS.

Part I. The Powers Upon the Throne.

THE COLORADO barons of incorporated autocracy have their imperial throne in Denver. Their satraps are numerous and powerful in many different parts of the state. Their agents, attorneys, newspapers or apologists may be found in nearly every community. If we call the roster of these imperious masters and use their common names, they will respond about as follows:

1. The four Denver public-utility corporations—

The Water Company,
The Tramway Company,
The Gas Company and
The Telephone Company.

2. The coal-trust; comprising—

The Colorado Fuel and Iron Company,
The Victor Fuel Company, and
The Northern Coal and Coke Company.

3. The Smelter Trust; and

4. The Railroads.

On this roster is the real and absolute power of the state. All other trusts, corporations and combines are mere licensees. They may seem free and powerful, and undoubtedly so impress the public, but most of them know the source of their delegated power, and to save themselves the humiliation of being called down they are careful to keep the terms of their implied licenses inviolate. Even the strongest banks in Denver are not unmindful of this license. This is illustrated by the election contest brought in the county court, growing out of the city election of May 17, 1904. The Republican candidate for mayor was John W. Springer, and R. W. Speer was his oppo-

*The first of this series of articles appeared in the July, 1905, number of THE ARENA.

nent on the so-called Democratic ticket. The public-utility trust owned and manipulated the Democratic machine in this city election, just as it also owned and manipulated the Evans-Graham branch of the Republican machine. The result was, that by the most stupendous ballot-box stuffing and fraud, Mr. Springer and his ticket, upon the face of the returns, was defeated. He filed a contest and his chance of catching the Utility-Trust in its unholy alliance with ballot-box stuffing and fraud seemed almost a certainty.

Suddenly, however, and to the amazement of the people, he dismissed his contest. In a speech before the Republican state convention that renominated Governor Peabody in the fall of 1904, and later, in a signed newspaper statement, he asserted that the reason he dropped the prosecution of his contest was because William G. Evans, the president of the Denver Tramway Company and the great boss of the Utility-Trust, had coerced him to do so by threatening to bring all the concentrated power of this irresistible trust to crush and ruin the two Denver banking-institutions with which he (Springer) was connected. If a single head of the throne-powers of the state could thus bring to their knees two of the great and successful banking-associations of the capital city,—what knee would not bend when their command or their frown fell upon the ordinary merchant, manufacturer, mine-owner or citizen?

Every political nomination, whether local or state, every constitutional amendment and every charter for the city and county of Denver, to be of the elect, must receive the sanctifying approval of these exalted throne-powers. In this way only is its safety insured from sand-bagging

at the polls; and it thus also secures the assurance that its unsanctified opponent will never be able to escape the sand-bag.

It is only a casual or a thoughtless observer who cannot trace an unbroken sequence between these dominant throne-powers of the state, or some one or more of them, and the great industrial and political events occurring within our borders. Seldom, however, is the commanding scepter wielded by these imperious masters with a single hand. They wisely shrink from such frequent united action as will enable the masses of the people to identify them as essentially a single concentrated power. They seem to realize that if they were so identified in the public mind, the people would see the trump-card in their hands, and would know how it was played, and by united action would hold the same card and would imitate the same play, and would beat these inflated corporations at their own peculiar game. This is the one view-point of all others that the throne-powers of the state would most dread to have adopted as a general view-point. Yet, it is a view-point so true and commanding, one marvels that it requires so much agitation, reflection and study to enable it to become the general view-point. The only rational explanation of this seeming stupidity lies in the fact that the throne-powers are accomplished experts in concealing from public view their trump-card. This they do, however, not necessarily by pre-concert of action. The complicated social and industrial fabric affords a multitude of opportunities for litigation, friction and contest that need not be sham, and that give not only the appearance but often the fact of bitter hostility and passion. Instances are not wanting where these throne-powers have fought among themselves, especially when sparring for position and a division of the spoils; also in the formative period of their history. But it can be safely asserted that no struggle has ever occurred, either here or elsewhere, where the question at issue between the contending cor-

porations was a fundamental principle of deep and vital interest to the people; such, for instance, as the affirmation that a special privilege or an uncurbed monopoly is inherently unjust and portends breakers ahead and an inevitable avalanche of usurpations, oppressions and dangers. Corporation fights, whenever they pertain to special privileges or monopolies, are always to secure some interest in or division of the privileges or monopolies but never to denounce or destroy them.

If this observation were not so often forgotten, there would be much less chance for confusion, when, as is occasionally the case, some of these "throne" corporations actually appear secretly or in the open on the side of the people, fighting other constituent members of the corporation throne.

We will here give a few facts that will illustrate this interesting aspect, and at the same time bring into view some of our local men and corporations.

Deceptive Dissensions Among the Throne-Powers.

At the present time and for a number of years past, the traction operations of the capital city of the state are and have been carried on by the Denver Tramway Company, concerning which more hereafter. We have two enterprising railroads, that do the principal local business of the state,—the Denver and Rio Grande and the Colorado and Southern. The Tramway Company is in close corporate alliance with the Denver, Northwestern and Pacific, commonly known as the "Moffat Road," now being built between Denver and Salt Lake City through the northwestern part of Colorado and opening a vast empire to commerce and exploitation.

In Colorado, it is unnecessary to tell anyone who Mr. Moffat is or why this new railroad enterprise is called the "Moffat Road." We introduce him, however, to the readers who do not know that he has long been a prominent factor

in the mining, banking and railroad interests of the West, and that at the present time he is the financial idol of the state. David H. Moffat is the familiar form of his name. He is a pioneer citizen and is reputed to be the richest man in Colorado. The newspapers tell us he is worth from fifteen to twenty-five millions, but the tax-rolls, of course, tell no such tale. He has long been the president of the First National Bank of Denver, the oldest and largest bank in the city. Some years ago he was the president of the Denver and Rio Grande Railroad Company, and is now the building promoter of the new road mentioned above that commonly bears his name. In the financial circles of the East, Mr. Moffat is already a national figure, both through the fight upon his road by rival trans-continental lines and by his membership upon the board of directors of the Equitable Insurance Company, now made so notorious by the magazines and newspapers. It seems he has a close business alliance with Senator Depew and young Mr. Hyde and others in their group, and the press has pointed to the millions under their command as the unfailing source of funds from which he will build his road. But to return to the "Moffat Road."

The enormous coal-bodies of Routt county, mentioned in Chapter I., will reach market over this new road, and iron and steel enterprises, in Denver or northwestern Colorado, of a magnitude as great, perhaps, as those of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company at Pueblo, will in the near future be an accomplished fact. The "Moffat Road" will be a competing road (at least upon paper) with the Denver and Rio Grande for Salt Lake and Utah business. It is nearly completed over the first mountain-range and is carrying freight and passengers. On the most elaborate scale, it has already opened the Leyden coal mines about fifteen miles from Denver, and is now selling their output in the city to the present discomfiture of the above-mentioned coal-trust.

William G. Evans, referred to by Mr. Springer above, and president of the Tramway Company, seems to be the active representative of all Mr. Moffat's vast utility and railroad interests, and he is the political representative of his corporate interests of every kind. The control of the stock of the Tramway Company is credited to Mr. Moffat, and it is by his grace, of course, that Mr. Evans is its dutiful president. Now to make our illustration clear, we must refer to another matter. Through the initiative and referendum, in the charter of the city and county of Denver, the Tramway influence circulated, during the summer and fall of 1904, petitions permitting this company to carry coal through the streets of the city, between certain hours of the night, and sufficient signatures were secured prior to the November election, so we were told, to have entitled this proposition to be submitted to a referendum vote. It was not submitted, however, nor have any of the petitions been filed with the city officials. The charter does not require them to be filed at any particular time, save that they must be on file not less than thirty days prior to the election at which the measure is to be approved or rejected. No one but Mr. Evans and his facile "whips" has any actual knowledge whether these petitions were sufficiently signed or not, and when, if at all, this menacing coal-proposition will be submitted to vote. In this way the wily tramway keeps its own counsel, and also keeps its rivals continually alert and guessing. If the Leyden coal could be put into our back-yards and cellars without the cartage charge on the long haul from the depot, such a special privilege granted to the "Moffat Road" and the Tramway and denied to the other coal-carrying roads—the Denver and Rio Grande and the Colorado and Southern—would, of course, be a handicap upon the latter of serious import to their profits. It is easy to figure the amount involved in this issue at hundreds of thousands of dollars. In this connection it is

also pertinent to add that the first charter framed and submitted to the voters of Denver, September 2, 1903, under Article XX. of the State Constitution, or, as it is sometimes called, the "Rush" amendment, provided in Section 271 as follows:

"No street-railway shall carry freight by virtue of any existing franchise."

The charter containing this provision was opposed of course by the Utility-Trust, and especially by the Tramway. But notwithstanding it was the most radical people's charter ever framed or proposed, it was quietly but loyally supported by the coal-carrying roads and the coal-trust. It undoubtedly received a majority of the legal votes, but still was counted out by the peculiar "Utility" methods to be mentioned in a later chapter.

This apparent dissension among the throne-powers, however, in the charter-election of September, 1903, with some of them fighting on the side of good government and on behalf of the people, was confusing only to those who did not see that the bone of contention between the corporations was not the same bone over which the people contended. The corporations had no thought of destroying a special privilege; but the Tramway wanted to defeat the charter that put such privilege out of its immediate reach, while its corporate opponents were willing to accept such limitation until they might all pull together for its change, with the expectation of mutual division and enjoyment at the people's expense.

There were other reasons than the coal issue, however, why the four utility companies were against this charter. It contained provisions that made public-ownership easy. It is probably also true that, outside of the coal issue, the two railroads mentioned,—the Denver and Rio Grande and the Colorado and Southern,—would have favored the charter, if for no other reason because the Utility-Trust was against it. They both seem to recognize the dangerous power of the Utility-Trust over the city council and

other important officers, both city and state. The Tramway is extending its system to suburban travel, and these railroads would like to retaliate by extending their suburban systems into the streets of Denver. But the power of Evans blocks their way and puts the special privilege of street-franchises far beyond their reach. Here is an economic reason for corporate conflict and friction. It has shown itself in all the recent charter-elections and in the election for municipal officers, May 17, 1904. The throne-powers pulled together in the effort to reelect Peabody Republican governor in the fall of 1904, but they were apart soon after in the corporate scramble to dictate the gubernatorial appointment of the judges of the enlarged Supreme Court. They closed long enough to see that the people were not consulted as to the selection of either judge, and induced Governor Peabody, among the last acts of his administration, to send to the senate for confirmation the two names for judges on which they finally agreed. They both took sides again in the gubernatorial contest, the Utility-Trust, Smelter- and Coal-Trusts being for Peabody and the above railroads, or at least the Colorado and Southern, for Adams. They closed again, however, when they agreed upon the proper division, and the Colorado and Southern was assured of the passage of its pet measure, H. B. 178, then pending in the senate, and allowing it to form a gigantic trust. They then threw principle to the wind and, acting on the cunning strategy of Evans, consummated the infamous deal that has now become a world-wide scandal in American politics. The railroad deserted Adams, who had been regularly declared and inaugurated governor, and, through a sham contest in the legislature, he was unseated. Governor Peabody, Republican, who was defeated at the polls, in tacit acknowledgment of his defeat, was permitted to be governor for but twenty-four hours, and then, by previous written stipulation, his resignation was filed and he became the tool

to swap over the state government from a Democrat to a Republican, the latter being Lieutenant-Governor McDonald. The details of this rotten bargaining will appear in our chapter on "The Overthrow of the Ballot." But the treachery of the railroad was soon followed by other treacheries, and Evans gave to the public new evidence of his diplomacy and power by inducing the new governor, McDonald, to veto the above pet measure, H. B. 178. This stunning blow to the ambitious railroad has inflicted upon it new wounds that seem deep and unhealing.

I have carried this illustration to considerable length to show how easy it is, at first blush, to suppose that these internal dissensions among the throne-powers of the state are permanent and lasting, and that the people can rally to the support of some corporation as against others, because such "others" are apparently against the people. But even this brief rehearsal has served to show that the reed of corporation reliance is so fragile that it twice bent and broke—once as to the judges, and again as to the governor. When a corporation gets what it wants, it quits, or at least it can quit if it wants to. The only fight it seems willing to press to a conclusion upon principle is a fight against a labor union. It will never stay upon principle and fight to the end with the people. It is all right, of course, to let a "quitter" of our own flesh and blood help us if he will, but we must not tie to him if we would save ourselves and our cause from sore disappointment. But as to an artificial "quitter" the case is different.

Corporations in Politics.

A corporation, as such, cannot be elected to office or cast a single vote or perform any civic function imposed upon the citizen of flesh and blood. If it is in politics, and it is only of political corporations I am now speaking, it is there because it wants something,—favor, power, graft, franchise, etc.,—and when it gets what it wants, it is free to quit altogether,

or to quit its old allies and to scheme for new ones. I am not unmindful in this connection of the corporate point-of-view; that is, that the corporations are forced into politics in self-protection. I know they are grafted upon and bled by clever imitators of their own designs and methods. But they first graft upon and bleed the people, and shake down rich plums in the shape of franchises and other special privileges. How then can they pose in moral censure and surprise when their own success tempts the people's servants to betrayal of their trust, that they, too, may taste the sweets of loot and of bounty? In this wise the corrupter and the corrupted are inspired by a common end and they become the component parts of a great machine, which permeates and pollutes the public service and menaces the foundations of all free government. No one should make a political comrade of a corporation. It is the crime of crimes for corporations to be in politics at all, and they should be driven out. Meantime we should always be suspicious when their political or economic interests lead them to be on the people's side, and we should not be discouraged when they drop out or even turn to the other side, but we should be prepared to fight on to the end and as if nothing had happened, save always, of course, the acquirement of a little political experience. The main point is, however, in this connection, never to be misled into identifying one political corporation as inherently more a people's corporation than another, merely because its economic necessities may drive it, either in a single contest or in a series of contests, to espouse the side of the people.

The Throne-Powers in United Action.

These throne-powers, as we have seen, always close up and unite when a vital point is at stake. They never, however, come out into the open as a united power without there is some real or apparent danger to corporate aggression or to special privilege and monopoly, and con-

ditions are opportune to throw dust in the eyes of the people and to induce a large part of them to vote against their own economic interest. I can recall five distinct occasions that will illustrate this feature of corporation dominion and acuteness, and that will also serve to point out the unity of these throne-powers, both before and since they attained to their present highly-developed form of a practical trust. They are as follows:

1. The "Waite" campaign of 1894.
2. The "Bucklin" amendment campaign.
3. The fight against the "Rush" and "Eight-Hour" amendments.
4. The Metal and Coal-Strike of 1903-4.
5. The "Peabody" campaign of 1904.

These measures and events are so inseparably connected with the economic history of the state, that a few words concerning them are necessary to an intelligent understanding of our economic troubles; and at this point we can use them, both as illustrations and as history.

1. The "Waite" Campaign.

All the dominant corporations in the state opposed the reelection of Governor Waite. The utility corporations that are now the Utility-Trust; the mining and smelting companies, that have since become the Smelter-Trust; the coal companies, that are now the Coal-Trust; and all the railroads. This means, too, that the combined newspapers, attorneys, agents, retainers and employes of this powerful corporate aggregation was also thrown into this campaign on the side of their employers. With such an unmistakable amassing of the throne-powers of the state before the open eyes of all the people, still a large part of the people, and many of them the best we have, could not see in this campaign the field maneuvers of the corporations. They were hopelessly lost in the cry—

"Redeem the State
From Governor Waite."

It was clear that the throne-powers

would profit by such "redemption," but the profit to the people was not so clear. Governor Waite was an ardent reformer with populist ideas. He was editing a reform journal at Aspen, when, in 1892, the Populists nominated him for governor. He was endorsed by the Democrats and elected. While not against corporations *per se*, still he would not warm up to them. He would not ride on railroad-passes, or take the little tickets so meretriciously circulated among the official classes of Denver by the Tramway Company. It is true he had his share of human frailties. Into his willing ear was poured the false word of flattery by boosters and sycophants ready to flock to any standard that gave hope of office. Many of them are still in office, both as Republicans and Democrats. They found their chameleon-like convictions especially fitted them for the business of holding office. As the leader of a new party, with new and untried men overwhelming him with obsequious attentions, Governor Waite had a difficult task to perform in making his appointments. He was not always wise in selecting the recipients of his official confidence and favor. As a reformer, too, he was especially unfortunate in still clinging to the delusive thought of a protective tariff. This left a back-door open, as it were, for the easy approach of Republican sirens, and a few skilled schemers were not slow to avail themselves of the opportunity. It was thus, in part at least, that certain minor gubernatorial acts were not always beyond fair criticism, and a few, such as the sending of Solomon Toy as a new warden to replace the governor's former appointee and to take possession of the penitentiary at midnight, were calculated to excite the popular risibles.

His war on the city hall had something of a serious aspect. After some friction* he recalled his first appointees of the fire and police-board of Denver and appointed Orr and Martin in their stead. They

*Trimble *vs.* People *ex rel.* Phelps, 19 Colorado, 187 (Nov. 22, 1893).

soon proved recreant to his trust, however, and tried to evade or deceive him as to his order to close up and keep closed all the gambling-houses in Denver. This conduct on the part of his second board seemed to make him furious.

He cited Orr and Martin to appear before him, and as a result of the trial with which he proceeded, he made the following findings:*

"*First:* The defendants, as members of the fire and police board, in knowingly sending special-policemen of Denver to the gambling-houses of Denver for the protection of said houses by the city police, were guilty of malfeasance in office; and,

"*Second:* That in failing to cause to be arrested persons whom they knew to be in open violation of the law were guilty of neglect of duty."

He then removed them and appointed a third board friendly to his policy, pledged to stop all public gambling in Denver. But Orr and Martin, with their offices at the city hall, refused to vacate. They had but recently witnessed the spectacle of a mayor of the city so favored by the delay of the courts that, although finally adjudged to have been elected through ballot-box stuffing and fraud, he practically held the two-years' term of his office, and was only actually ousted about thirty days before the regular biennial election of his successor.†

With this precedent before them, and encouraged by the particular class they had undertaken to protect, Orr and Martin thought they could badger the governor, and accordingly locked horns with him upon his order of removal. The grappling was ferocious, and amid all kinds of forecasts and conjectures the public, in suspense, looked on and waited. The then charter of Denver expressly lodged in the governor the power of appointment and removal, and, under the

constitution of the state, Art. 4, sec. 5, he was required "to execute the laws." Thus fortified, he resolved, despite the delay of the courts, to seat his new appointees Mullins and Barnes. Suspicious of a loophole or betrayal, he refused to submit the question of his proposed procedure to the supreme court. This he might have done as a gubernatorial inquiry under Art. 6, sec. 3. But he claimed that court was unfriendly to his administration and was indeed only waiting for an opportunity to foil and humiliate him. At the instance of Orr and Martin the police-force at the city hall was heavily armed, and all the approaches to the building were barricaded and under guard. To meet this military defiance the governor, despite all entreaty and advice, determined to call out the state troops. This he did, and great crowds followed the troops as they marched through the city from the armory on 26th street to the field of battle, and took their position at 14th and Lawrence streets, only a block from the city hall. The people were soon driven into side streets and alleys for comparative safety, and cannons were trained on the guarded hall. The crowd now was constantly increasing and prominent citizens could be seen here and there and comments on the impending battle were numerous and variant. I was myself an humble but personal witness to these martial proceedings, and saw a judge of the supreme court in earnest conversation with the commander of the troops at the very time the on-lookers seemed to be expecting the order to fire. The command from Governor Waite to fire was the only remaining preliminary to bloodshed and slaughter. But there was a lull and suspense, and we must turn now to occurrences elsewhere to understand the peculiarity of the situation and to get the sequel.

An inquiry by the governor as to the availability of federal troops from the suburban barracks at Fort Logan introduced a federal entanglement, with a

* *People vs. Martin*, 19 Colorado, 566.

† See *Londoner vs. People ex rel. Barton*, 15 Colorado, 246, 557 (Feb. 6, 1891); also 13 Colorado, 303 (1889).

threatening intent of federal intervention, despite the protests of the governor. Some time later I was called to the executive chamber for professional consultation, and Governor Waite complained bitterly that the judge I had seen talking with his military commander had urged the latter to mutiny and, despite his official honor and oath, to ignore and defy the military orders of his superior, the commander-in-chief. I expressed my opinion, however, against his martial method of seating his appointees, although he vehemently protested there was open insurrection in the city, especially at the city-hall, and a conspiracy existed to override the law between the police-force led by Orr and Martin and a large body of evilly-disposed men and gamblers, and that the sheriff of the county would not or was unable to keep the peace. He was both petulant and stubborn in insisting on his official right and duty to proclaim an insurrection and to declare martial law. I believed then, and so stated, that, in my judgment, he was utterly wrong in his conception of his right and duty, and that the exercise of such a power was unprecedented, autocratic and dangerous.

And here I pause to remark that I remained firmly fixed in the above opinion, until ten years later I read in the Moyer case, decided by the Supreme Court of Colorado, that Governor Peabody, acting under the same constitution, was actually invested with that self-same absolute, dangerous, autocratic power. Until I saw that opinion, I never supposed it was possible to secure upon American soil a judicial endorsement of the principle that a governor created by the constitution of the state could be so lifted above the constitution, that he could lay the courts at his feet, could set his heel upon the sacred writ of *habeas corpus* and fix his will upon a community as absolute as the will of the Russian czar,—to shoot, kill, hang, banish or deport. Had such an opinion, so easily a firebrand, been in the hands of Governor Waite at the criti-

cal moment in question, why should he have hesitated with his command to fire? Deprived, as he was, however, of this later constitutional wisdom, more pacific counsels finally prevailed, and he was induced to send the troops back to the armory and to submit the respective rights of the two contending police-boards to the decision of the supreme court, upon satisfactory assurance of its assuming original jurisdiction and disposing of the controversy upon its merits without delay. The case was soon fully argued and decided,* and the new appointees were given their seats. They kept faith, too, with the governor, and, for the first time in the history of the state, closed every public gambling-place in town.

And so it was that the gambling and sporting elements of Denver and throughout the state were also arrayed with the corporations against the reelection of Governor Waite. But let it here be noted that this alignment did not occur until the spokesman of the gamblers had made an effort to placate Governor Waite, whom they had now come to fear and to respect. His campaign manager in Denver was authoritatively told that the gamblers believed he would be elected anyway, and that they knew he could be elected with their support and votes; that this he could have, if he would only insure them against interference upon their running a quiet game behind locked doors with a wicket; that, with this assurance, they would contribute \$25,000 to his campaign-fund, and would guarantee to get him, by letter and personal solicitation, the vote of every sport and gambler in the state. To those who have doubted the sincerity of Governor Waite on the gambling question, even in the face of the showing he made in the actual results, it may be a surprise when they learn, as now they may, that he indignantly spurned this proposition of the gamblers, and declared he preferred to suffer defeat rather than to achieve success with their votes and support.

* *People vs. Martin*, 19 Colorado, 566.

But good people were chilled by what they called the "City-Hall War" and the "Penitentiary Hold-up." Others were frightened by the corporation cry that the reelection of Waite would prevent capital from coming to the state. This last was an influential consideration, especially with the business and commercial classes, and probably of large influence, too, in moving many honest women to cast their first vote in a state election against the man who effectually suppressed public gambling in Denver, and who, as governor in 1893, did not veto as he might,* but signed the bill that enabled them to vote against him in 1894.

This cry of "driving out capital" is the cry of the privileged classes in every campaign where there is any man or measure not in full accord with their designs. The Colorado women, however, are wiser now and undoubtedly know that capital is never "driven out," where, as here, the natural opportunities are attractive and there is a chance to put in bank two dollars for every dollar wisely invested.

Among his strong points for the people was Governor Waite's determination that the troops should not be used by the mine-owners of the employing class, merely as a means of forcing their terms upon the strikers. This, as we shall see later, was his position in the strike at Cripple Creek in 1894. Another point for the people was his solicitous concern to protect the debtor class from the rapacious aggressions of their creditors. In the financial panic of 1893, half a dozen banks in Denver snapped like reeds and the depreciation in property from the sudden fall in the price of silver brought financial wreckage into nearly every home and business in the state. It was the happy moment for the ghoul of the money-lending fraternity, and trust-deed foreclosures and

attachments in large bunches were of daily occurrence. The distress of our citizens was acute and appalling. Stay laws and other unconstitutional relief were agitated; but Governor Waite called the legislature in special session for the first time in the history of the state, and caused to be enacted two acts that are still upon the statute-book, and that stand as a monument to his fidelity to the cause of the people.

One, called the "pro-rating" law, made all judgment and attaching creditors at the same term of court share *pro rata* out of the proceeds of the attached property. Before that, the first creditor attaching took all the property attached to the exclusion of all other creditors. This was said to be the reward of diligence. It was in fact, however, the reward of avarice and oppression. Creditors disposed to be reasonably just and indulgent had to watch not only their debtor, but the debtor's importunate and greedy creditors as well; and many a promising property was seized and sacrificed, not for want of any faith in the debtor, but for fear that some other creditor would be first to pounce upon the debtor's all. This "pouncing" business was destroyed by Governor Waite.

His other law was known as the "Public-Trustee Act." In Colorado the form of security for money loaned has seldom been the mortgage. It has been a trust-deed, wherein the debtor conveyed his property directly to a private trustee who, upon default in payment of principal or interest, was empowered to sell the property and to give an absolute and indefeasible deed by merely advertising, for thirty days, notice of the sale. Such publication had to be in a newspaper published in the county where the property was situated. As the private trustee was frequently a scheming friend or a close relative of the holder of the note, it often happened that

vote of the qualified electors and approved by a majority of those voting thereon. This "enactment" was approved by Governor Waite April 7, 1893, and voted on by the electors in November, 1893—the vote standing for, 35,798; and against, 29,451.

* Woman suffrage in Colorado was conferred pursuant to Colorado Constitution, Art. 7, sec. 2, that expressly authorized the general assembly to "enact laws to extend the right of suffrage to women of lawful age and otherwise qualified"; but no such enactment was to be of effect until submitted to the

they conspired to take advantage of the debtor and to get title to his property stealthily and without his knowledge. In Denver it was not difficult to accomplish this imposition, in view of the numerous weekly newspapers, many of them with but small circulation in the city and but little read,—especially was this true of the weekly editions of the Denver dailies. Out of this state of facts and similar impositions taking a debtor unawares and practically robbing him of valuable property on a thirty-days' notice before he could turn around to save himself,—great hardships and vast losses were the inevitable result; also numerous suits arose, and in some cases where the trustee's sale was enjoined, still the fraud succeeded because the debtor was too poor or hard-pressed to secure an injunction bond.

But at last the outcry of the distressed debtor was heard and the "Public-Trustee Act" required all future trust-deeds naming a *private* trustee to be foreclosed in court as an ordinary mortgage,—taking at least nine months and generally a year,—and when the *public trustee* was named, it required him to designate the newspaper and to conduct the sale and to give the debtor personal as well as published notice, and allowed the latter six months after the sale in which to redeem. Thus it was that the rack-riding features of Colorado mortgage foreclosures were brought to an end.

Yet, though Governor Waite especially pleased the clergy by routing the gamblers, and though his signature gave to women the right to vote, and though he kept the bayonet from the bosom of the toilers, and though he ended the abuse of pouncing on honest debtors through writs of attachment, and though he took fraud and surprise out of mortgage foreclosures, and though, too, in addition to all else, he measured high in the then political standard of the west requiring fealty to the cause of silver at 16 to 1,—still enough of the people, good, well-meaning people and church-people, too,—stood openly on the side of the throne-

powers and gamblers to deprive the governor of the overwhelming majority necessary to put his election beyond the reach of the now familiar methods of corporation-fixing and fraud. Albert W. McIntire, his Republican opponent, secured the face of the returns and was inducted into office. Take any average citizen of Colorado now, however, regardless of his politics, and interrogate him and, if he is not a slave to the throne-powers, he will not only make the comparison between Waite and his opponent of flattering advantage to the former, but will make the comparison between Waite and any other governor of the state at least one of favor and encouragement. He was eccentric, of course, but his eccentricities were always on the side of the people,—a merit not so clearly disclosed by other eccentric governors of the state. Even his views on the tariff did not turn him from the people. While, like the most of us, he was not hostile to corporations in the exercise of their legitimate rights and powers, still he would not worship at their shrine and for this unpardonable sin they marked him for slaughter. Such marking alone will some day so atone for personal faults and blunders that an intelligent awakening of the people will mark the throne-powers for slaughter and their selected victim for preferment. It is hopeless to expect that day, however, until the people understand that the corporations are in politics for economic reasons,—to increase their grip upon the special preserves and thereby also to increase their profits and dividends. When they see this they will appreciate the value of counter-economics and will act and vote accordingly.

2. *The "Bucklin" Amendment Campaign.*

This campaign occurred in 1902 and it stirred the state deeply from one end to the other. The corporations were united and frantic, and they were joined by the privileged classes and their pensioners and champions of every kind and degree. They all denounced this amendment as

confiscatory. In it they affected to see the shades of Henry George stealthily haunting the state. They saw the single-tax philosophy written upon the sign-boards at every turn. They saw anarchy and socialism overriding the constituted powers, and even daring to challenge the high prerogatives emanating from the corporation throne. Their denunciations were so fierce, their protests so loud and continuous, and their pictures so touched with pathos and gloom, that they first alarmed and then they aligned with their fighting-hosts many excellent men and women and large and important interests that economically and logically belonged on the other side.

There was no reasonable ground for this political hysteria. It was an artificial affection communicated by injecting nervous delirium into the following facts:

Senator James W. Bucklin is an ardent single-taxer. He was the chairman of a committee of three hold-over senators appointed under a resolution of March 27, 1899, to report to the thirteenth general assembly in 1901 upon the state and local revenue laws, to point out their defects and to suggest a remedy; and this committee was "particularly instructed to investigate the tax-laws of New Zealand and the Australian colonies and the effect of such laws," and to report the results of such investigations with recommendations. Senator Bucklin, at his own expense, visited New Zealand and Australia. He made a very valuable printed report of 62 pages of his observations and conclusions concerning the Colorado tax-laws, and also concerning what he called the "Australasian Tax-System." Among other recommendations, the hold-over committee joined Senator Bucklin in suggesting, as a constitutional amendment, the measure in question that bears his name. It was put upon the official ballot not only as a proposed amendment of Article 10, sections 9 and 11, but also under the then familiar catch-phrase, the "Australasian Tax-System." It did not, however, es-

tablish the Australasian tax, except the "local option" feature thereof, nor the single-tax, nor any other tax or system. Still, as we shall presently see, it made the way as open in Colorado as the New York constitution opens the way for rational progress in tax reform, and for that reason it received the hearty support not only of single-taxers but of tax-reformers and publicists of every shade of belief. Senator Bucklin's report was widely circulated and read, and it was printed, too, as Senate Document Number 209 of the Second Session of the Fifty-sixth Congress. It showed, in brief, that in Australia and New Zealand personal property is not rated or taxed for any purpose; that there was no "constitutional or other restriction on the power of the legislatures to establish or enlarge the land-value tax," and that under "local option" provisions, *improvements* had been relieved from taxation and the tax placed on the value of the land, to the great advantage of industry and progress and to the abiding satisfaction of the people.

As before noted, this "Bucklin" amendment was introduced into the general assembly of 1901. But at that same session there were also introduced two other constitutional amendments, mentioned hereafter and known respectively as the "Rush" amendment and the "Eight-Hour" amendment. This was a master-stroke by the reformers and the throne-powers were excited and confused. They, of course, were against all three of these proposed amendments, but did not dare to divide their forces. At last, however, they made the "Rush" amendment the center of their legislative attack, but, somewhat maimed and disfigured, it finally crowded through with the others and received the necessary two-thirds vote of each house. When the railroads defied the new revenue act, also passed by the legislature of 1901, Governor Orman called the legislature in special session to pass another revenue act acceptable to the railroads.

The throne-powers then saw their

chance and induced the governor to include in his proclamation a right "to recall or rescind any constitutional amendment now for submission at the next general election."

The purpose of this new move was to make another assault upon the "Bucklin" amendment. This time they had singled it out by itself and had doomed it for slaughter. The contest was sharp and severe, but as the measure was then pending before the people, there was no constitutional right or power in the legislature to recall it, and although there were weak-kneed solons anxious to please the throne-powers, they "squared" themselves by throwing down the amendment in the subsequent campaign,—but they were afraid to pass a vote of recall. So it was that at last the amendment reached the people.

That the reader may now see precisely what went to the people and what cunning use the throne-powers sometimes make of the people to help them draw corporation chestnuts out of the fire, I insert this much-berated "Bucklin" amendment entire.

It is short, and is as follows:

Article 10, section 9. "Once in four years, but not oftener, the voters of any county in the state may, by vote at any general election, exempt or refuse to exempt from all taxation for county, city, town, school, road and other local purposes, any and all personal property or improvements on land; but neither the whole nor any part of the full cash value of any rights of way, franchises in public ways, or land, exclusive of the improvements thereon, shall be so exempted; provided, however, that such questions be submitted to the voters by virtue of petition therefor, signed and sworn to by not less than one hundred taxpayers of each county, and filed with the county clerk and recorder, not less than thirty nor more than ninety days before the day of election."

Article 10, section 11. "The rate of

taxation on property for state purposes shall never exceed four mills on each dollar of valuation but the provision of this section shall not apply to rights of way, franchises in public ways, or land, the full cash value of which may be taxed at such additional rate, not exceeding two mills on each dollar of assessed valuation, as shall be provided by law, after exempting all personal property and improvements thereon from such additional rate of taxation."

The reader is now competent to pass his own judgment and to say whether these two proposed sections are revolutionary or anarchistic. If we analyze them it will be seen that they are essentially permissive; that is, they permit the people of designated political divisions of the state to vote into being their own local system of taxation for the revenue purposes of such divisions only. Of their own force and without further action of the people they create no new system of any kind. Without a popular vote pursuant to their terms decreeing otherwise, the existing system would continue to exist wholly unaffected, except as to the important subject of franchises. And at this point we get at the milk in the cocoanut. These sections do ordain that "neither the whole nor any part of the full cash value of any rights of way, franchises in public ways, . . . shall be . . . exempted"; and, unlike other property taxed for "state purposes" and limited in rate to four mills on the dollar, these franchises are subject to an additional rate of two mills on the dollar. These are the provisions that set the corporations wild. From their view-point it was really a franchise fight, and yet they concealed this view-point so successfully that a large part of the people never suspected that the cry of "confiscation" was the mere corporation method of duplicity and concealment. Something of the extent to which the corporations were affected throughout the state by this franchise provision will appear by taking the situa-

tion in old Arapahoe county, at that time containing what is now the city and county of Denver and the new counties of Arapahoe and Adams.

From a signed statement printed in one of the Denver dailies during the campaign and written by John P. S. Voght, a deputy in the assessor's office and one of the most competent fiscal statisticians in the state, I quote as follows:

"The valuation of such franchises and rights of way would be increased at their true value, instead of a ten per cent. valuation, as now in vogue. The valuation of the Denver Tramway, the Denver Union Water Company, the Denver Gas and Electric Light Company, steam-heating, telegraph and telephone companies and all the great railway companies entering and centering in the city of Denver will be \$34,000,000 under the Australasian tax, instead of \$3,597,845 under our present system. Railroad and corporation franchises and rights of way, with the additional two-mills levy for state purposes, will pay (in taxes) \$1,198,840 instead of \$102,601.54 as now."

With such a prospect before them, no wonder the throne-corporations poured money like water into the campaign and distorted the issues. It is a matter of wonder, however, that the newspapers and the people followed their lead and did battle for "The Anti-Bucklin Amendment League" under the alarming and misleading declaration:

"The Bucklin Amendment means the Single-Tax, Confiscation, Confusion, Panic."

The amendment shows on its face that outside of the franchise feature, it is nothing more than the popular proposition of allowing "local option in taxation." This proposition has been approved by many eminent and capable associations and men. Space will permit reference to but few and these I select as fair samples and at random. The Ohio State Board

of Commerce declared for it in the following terms:

"For an amendment to the constitution to permit local option in taxation."

As conservative a body as the Ohio State Bar Association, in 1900, adopted this resolution:

"That the constitution of Ohio should be so amended as to completely separate state and local taxation; that each city and county of the state should be vested with the power of taxation for the purposes of such city and county . . ."

We shall also see in a moment that this proposition had the support of one of the branches of the New York legislature and of some of the most conservative bodies of New York city. So competent a critic as Professor John R. Commons gave for use in the campaign a letter over his own signature approving the "Bucklin" amendment. Even so conservative an educator and publicist as President Hadley, of Yale College, specifically approved the principal aims the promoters of this amendment had in view in the following terse and pointed words:

" . . . Unimproved real estate should be assessed higher and improvements relatively lower than at present. The assessors of to-day see that the man who holds unimproved real estate gets little income and they let him off easily on account of his supposed inability to pay a high tax. The real effect of this is to take burdens off from the shoulders of a man who is waiting for the growth of a community to make him rich, and to put these burdens on the shoulders of those who are contributing to that growth. Whatever may be thought of Henry George's single-tax theory as a whole, there can be little question that a *relatively high assessment of ground rent, with corresponding relief for those who have made improvements, is a much-needed reform.*"*

* Johnson's Univ. Cyc., tit., "Taxation." Vol. 8, p. 23.

Yet this "much-needed reform" so cogently urged by President Hadley never could be accomplished in Colorado without first liberalizing the constitution. This constitution now requires the "taxation of all property, real and personal" (Art. 10, sec. 3) according to the well-known "rule of uniformity" familiar to those at all acquainted with tax matters. It gives a list of property that may be exempted, such as that of municipal corporations, public libraries, and, until otherwise provided by law, cemeteries not for profit, and "lots with the buildings thereon, if said buildings are used solely and exclusively for religious worship, for schools or for strictly charitable purposes." It then declares that "all laws exempting from taxation property other than that hereinbefore mentioned shall be void." (Art. 10, sec. 6.)

Hampered by such restrictions, it is impossible in this state to attempt any just or effective tax-reform, without they are first modified or abolished. This was the aim of the "Bucklin" amendment, and in this respect, if it had carried, it would have placed our constitution on no different ground than that already occupied by the constitution of so large and conservative a state as New York. We are all familiar with the Elsburg bill, drafted by such distinguished citizens as Charles S. Fairchild, secretary of the treasury in Cleveland's cabinet; Alexander E. Orr, a multimillionaire and for years president of the chamber, and George F. Seward, John Harsen Rhodes, and Clarence E. Kelsey, representing the committee on state and municipal taxation of the chamber of commerce of the state of New York and unanimously endorsed by the chamber on January 3, 1901. It was also endorsed by the state commerce convention, the board of trade and transportation, the Merchants' Association, the West End Association, the United Real Estate Owners' Association, the New York Tax-Reform Association and many other bodies and eminent men.

This Elsburg bill permitted "local

option in taxation" in New York, in all cities and counties of the state, and no change in the constitution, as in Colorado was a necessary preliminary. It permitted the county-board or the council of any city or village, by mere vote, as if passing an ordinary resolution, to exempt from taxation all the improvements on land, or all factories, or all railroads, or all mercantile establishments, or all stocks or bonds or anything else. This bill was supported by leading newspapers of New York city regardless of politics and the *New York Commercial Advertiser* (Republican) said:

"The main effect of the proposed law would be to exempt personalty almost entirely from taxation and to raise the entire revenue by taxation of *realty and public franchises*."

The Elsburg bill, with such provisions and effect, passed one house of the New York legislature but was defeated in the other. Its origin, however, was too respectable and conservative to bring it or its supporters under the ban of "the Single-Tax, Confiscation, Confusion and Panic."

Yet this very ban was put upon the "Bucklin" amendment and its supporters. And this, too, although it was a much fairer measure for "local option in taxation" than its New York prototype. In the latter the "option" of determining the character of property to be taxed or exempted was given to a mere clique,—to a county-board or a city-council, and undoubtedly would have engendered all the graft and vices of franchise grabbing. While in the former the "option" was given to the people themselves, by an effective initiative and referendum proceeding, to determine what property they would tax or exempt. Yet through the cunning of corporation tactics the people were hoodwinked into distrusting and condemning themselves, and into graciously holding immune from the touch of just taxation the tax-dodging franchises of the imperious throne-powers. This was not true, however, of the

miners. They keenly realized the inequity and iniquity of our existing tax-system, taking its revenue from their meager earnings and belongings, while vast profits were rolled up on the dividend-sheets that never made even a shadow upon the tax returns. President Harrison said, as we have seen, "this sense of inequality breathes a fierce and unmeasuring anger." In the "Bucklin" amendment there was a ray of hope for economic tax-reform, and the miners as a class gave it enthusiastic support. The result was that the only counties that returned a majority for the measure were the metal-mining counties of Clear Creek, Dolores, Hinsdale, Lake, La Plata, Pitkin, San Juan and Teller. But, as we shall presently see in the chapter on the strikes of 1903-04, these enthusiastic champions of tax-reform paid the full penalty for their organized disloyalty to the edicts of the throne-powers. Upon the face of the returns the vote was as follows: For the amendment, 32,710; and against it, 72,370. I do not say, however, that the amendment was defeated. I leave that for the reader to say, if he thinks so, when in our chapter on "The Overthrow of the Ballot" he becomes acquainted with corporation methods of running Colorado elections.

Notwithstanding the respectable company in which we have seen the "Bucklin" amendment had a right to be received and to move in the field of American economics, still, to succeed in their vicious franchise-fight, the throne-powers did not hesitate to malign and traduce it, nor to denounce and ridicule all its advocates and exponents. To win, under cover, so important a fight, they not only stirred to the bottom the passions of the people throughout the state but also stirred the reputation of the state throughout the nation. The reflection of the contest as seen in the press of the East was all of corporation making, and like their lurid painting on other occasions, represented this modest amendment as mad anarchy and revolution and its supporters as wild confiscators and loons.

Yet, as against their libels and insidious machinations, there is no better sentiment to express than that of Shakspeare's telling words used by Senator Bucklin in concluding his above report:

"[Be just and fear not,
Let all the ends thou aim'st at
Be thy Country's, thy God's and Truth's."

3. The "Rush" and "Eight-Hour" Amendments.

The "Rush" amendment was adopted November 4, 1902, as Article 20 of the State Constitution. It was carried by a popular majority of 33,983. After the official canvass of the vote, Governor Orman, on December 1, 1902, as he was required by the terms of the amendment, issued his proclamation declaring it duly adopted as a part of the state constitution. This Article 20 contains eight sections and is too long for present insertion. A brief reference to its essential features, however, will suffice to show its importance and to show also why it especially offended the throne-powers.

(a) It abolished the city of Denver and the county of Arapahoe which included the same, and merged and consolidated these two organizations and so much of the territory of the latter as was co-terminous with the exterior boundaries of the former, together with all other municipalities within this area,—into an entirely new and unique entity to be called the "City and County of Denver," and which should be "a single body corporate and politic."

(b) It required this "single body corporate and politic" to have but one set of officers to be "such as by appointment or election may be provided for by the charter," and "the jurisdiction, term of office, duties and qualifications of all such officers to be such as in the charter may be provided"; and to show this "single body corporate and politic" as a new creation of the sovereign will of the people and to protect it as a new species of governmental being from judicial or legislative invasion

to the extent necessary to let it live and develop according to its peculiar endowment,—it was provided that “anything in the constitution of this state in conflict or inconsistent with the provisions of this amendment is hereby declared to be inapplicable to the matters and things by this amendment covered and provided for.”

(c) It gave the voters of the city and county of Denver the right to elect twenty-one members of a charter-convention to frame a charter, which, when approved by a vote of the people, should become the organic law of such city and county. But it provided in order to preserve the application of the general provisions of the constitution and statutes, that “every charter shall designate the officers who shall respectively perform the acts and duties required of county officers to be done by the constitution or by the general law, as far as applicable.”

(d) The principle of the initiative and referendum was specifically adopted for the framing of successive charters when desired by the people or for amending any charter of the city and county or for the enactment of ordinances; and this was to be done upon a five per cent. petition for submission at a general election or a ten per cent. petition for submission at a special election, and without any legislative permit, interference or approval.

(e) It required all franchises to be approved by a vote of the people before they became effective.

(f) It required the fire and police department and the department of public utilities and works to be under civil service.

(g) It required the school districts within the limits of the city and county of Denver to be consolidated and merged into a single district, to be called “School District No. 1.”

(h) It permitted cities of the first and second class in the state, that is, cities having a population exceeding two thousand, to avail themselves of certain adaptable parts of its provisions, especially of

the charter-making power, and of the initiative and referendum.

(i) It required all charters and amendments thereof to be filed with the secretary of state before the same should take effect.

In the above analysis, points *c*, *d*, *e*, and *h* indicate the special features that drew the fire of the corporations. By point *e* they had to run the gauntlet of a popular vote to renew their fast expiring franchises, and by points *c*, *d*, and *h*, the power was always in the hands of the people to establish such a condition precedent or any other condition for the granting of franchises in their charter, even if by any untoward circumstance the provisions of point *e* should be eliminated or invalidated, or indeed, they might deny the granting upon any conditions of any franchise whatsoever.

Of the “Eight-Hour” amendment, it is enough here to say that it added Section 25a to Article 5 of the constitution, and prohibited the employment of persons in underground mines or workings or in furnaces, smelters or reduction-works for more than eight hours in any twenty-four hours, except in cases of emergency, and declared that “the general assembly shall provide by law (for the enforcement of such period of employment) and shall prescribe suitable penalties for violation thereof.”

The legislative betrayal and shirking in 1903 of this direct command of the constitution and the failure to pass any eight-hour law whatever and the result of the same, will be especially pertinent to a subsequent chapter.

But as we have seen and by wise preconcert, perhaps, this “Eight-Hour” amendment, the “Bucklin” amendment and the “Rush” amendment were all to be voted upon at the same time,—November 4, 1902,—having all been passed and submitted to the people by the legislature in 1901. Confusing as it was to the throne-powers to have these three measures passed at the same session of the general assembly, it was still more

embarrassing to have them all pending before the people for a vote at the same election. Again, they did not dare to divide or scatter their strength. In the legislature, as said above, they made the "Rush" amendment the center of their fight, but in the field the "Bucklin" amendment, as we have seen, was the stormy center. The "Eight-Hour" amendment was so popular and was supported by such a tremendous pressure that the throne-powers wisely postponed their organized assault upon this measure until, as we shall see later, the legislature was applied to to pass the necessary enactment to put it into execution.

The result of the returns of the now famous election of 1902, besides giving us James H. Peabody as the Republican governor of the state, also gave us the "Rush" amendment and the "Eight-Hour" amendment* by large majorities. But the "Bucklin" amendment, by the same returns, was sent to the tomb,—a fate, as we shall see, but little different from that finally overtaking its two companions—the one being bled to death by the legislature and the other by the courts. Such is the facility with which the existing economy can absorb, adapt or destroy the most restrictive or fundamental measure that lies in its way. Apropos of this thought, watch the rate-fixing fight now going on in the nation. If it finally wins in Congress, see what becomes of it in the courts.

4. *Metal and Coal-Strike of 1903-04.*

This subject will have a chapter by itself, and it is enough to say now that during all these stirring troubles there was not a ripple of inharmony among the throne-powers of the state; that they were a unit in advice and encouragement to Governor Peabody, and he did not act

and exercised no power that drew a breath of protest from any corporation in the state.

5. *The Peabody Campaign of 1904.*

A word here, too, will at present suffice, as the strikes just mentioned and their incidents and issues must first be presented to the reader before he will be prepared to appreciate why all the throne-powers of the state were defiantly aligned for the reelection of James H. Peabody and for the defeat of Governor Adams. In a later chapter on "The Overthrow of the Ballot," both this campaign and its subsequent contest will receive specific attention.

In the foregoing pages we have had a general glimpse at the dominant trusts and corporations of the state, both as to their occasional troubles among themselves and as to their united front against the people. Their internal dissensions, as we have seen, should be of no vital concern to the public, but their power and disposition for united political action is of the deepest concern. We repeat that it is the crime of crimes that they should be in politics at all.

When we now turn to a more specific consideration of these throne-powers and see each of them in their large holdings and ambitious pretensions, with their vast tap-roots and runners sapping the political life-blood and the substance of the people, we shall then have some appreciation of the economic situation in this state, and realize that the issue cannot be much longer postponed when it must be decisively determined whether the people shall go down upon their knees as suppliants, or the corporations shall be driven from their throne.

(To be continued.)

J. WARNER MILLS.

Denver, Colo.

*The vote on the "Eight-Hour" amendment stood thus: for, 72,980; against, 26,266.

TAINTED MONEY AND THE CHURCH.

BY REV. GEORGE F. PENTECOST, D.D.

THE PERIOD of frenzied discussion of this subject is past and the time for a more calm and dispassionate consideration of the whole matter has come. Without doubt such discussion will be continued until the public conscience shall reach a conclusion similar to that which all good people hold in respect of slavery and Mormonism. Ideals of righteousness are always advancing and, though slow to catch up with this advance, the people in the end move toward the higher ideals and confirm a new standard of righteousness which a generation before they would not have recognized. The question just now under discussion is not so much the enormous (mis)fortune of one man and the methods by which he obtained it, as the whole system of commercial enterprise which the genius of this one man has invented and put into practice and which has been adopted and spread through all the great controlling commercial enterprises of our country.

Is there such a thing as tainted money? The writer may be pardoned if at the outset he attempts to answer this question from the religious or Christian point-of-view. All the more so since the man around whom this question just now revolves is an eminent (?) Christian man; or at least he stands before the community clothed in that profession. At the outset it is conceded that money in itself is without moral quality and can only be characterized as "tainted" by reason of its association or use. James—the Lord's brother—one of the New Testament writers and especially a writer on the whole subject of Christian ethics in relation to the common or practical life, says, of certain rich men who had acquired their wealth by oppressing and defrauding their poor laborers: "Your riches are *corrupted*; your gold and silver are *can-*

kered." Surely no one will deny that this is a description of tainted money, which instead of being an instrument for blessing becomes "a witness against" its possessors and "shall eat" their "flesh as it were fire." "The cries" of those who have been defrauded in the process of gathering this "heaped together treasure" "have come into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth." Even Dr. McArthur would scarcely speak of this writer as the "notorious James." Who will doubt that money obtained by theft, extortion, uncleanness, robbery, etc., is tainted, so long as it remains in the hands of or is administered by the thief, the extortioner, the covetous man, or the one who practices fraud upon his neighbor?

Turning from the strict rule of the gospel to that of the common conscience, it is evident that certain money would by any honest or decent man be regarded as tainted and unfit for use in the work of God. Should a professional gambler, thief, keeper of a disreputable house, an embezzler of bank or trust funds, or men who have obtained their money by fraud and known oppression of the poor, come with their money and offer it to any treasurer of any department of the work of the church, would such treasurer receive it on the grounds that, though obtained by such means, it was clean in itself, or at least that to use it in a good cause would sanctify it? The doctrine that "the end justifies the means" is not one that is accepted by the average Christian of the twentieth century. The point here is not now whether "Standard Oil" money is on a par with that hypothecated above, but that there is certain money which even the common conscience regards as tainted.

Can tainted money be cleansed? This raises another question which may easily be answered. A bad man is not neces-

sarily doomed to perpetual badness. He may be converted and become a good man. Any business or occupation, unless it itself is inherently bad, may be reconstructed and placed on a basis of righteousness. So, without doubt, tainted money may be cleansed, but not so long as it is held by and represents the unrighteous man and his methods of business by which the money has been obtained. It has been urged that we should never question either the man or his money if he is sincerely seeking to do good with it; that "it is always right to do good." There is a sophism in this plausible statement that needs exposing. A man with his right hand steals and continues to steal and "heaps together riches"; but he has good impulses and so with his left hand he takes a certain portion of his money which with his right hand by fraud or oppression he has acquired, and devotes it to some charitable or religious object. He commits a fraud with his right hand and writes a check in favor of charity or righteousness with his left hand. Shall we say that the check of the left hand sanctifies the fraud of the right hand or cleanses the money obtained by frauds, especially if the right hand *continues* strenuously to do business in the same way? So long as money stands for and represents the man who possesses it or gives it, it partakes of the moral quality of the man it stands for, and not of the cause to which it has been given. If we are reminded that the "altar sanctifies the gift and not the gift the altar," it may be replied that Jehovah by the lips of more than one of His prophets refused absolutely to allow the sacrifices and offerings of certain of the Jews to lie upon His altars, because of the "corrupt practices" of the men who sought so to "worship" Him. Instead of *sanctifying the gift*, the altars of the Lord would have been *desecrated by the gift*. Clearly it is not possible to sanctify tainted money merely by devoting it to religious or charitable purposes.

It has been urged that the Lord him-

self accepted gifts which were wrongdoing, *e. g.*, in the case of the woman who was a sinner, who broke upon his head and his feet the very precious box of ointment, one of the art-agencies in her unholy profession. But those who refer to this case seem to forget two points in this story. First, the woman had utterly abandoned her unclean life, and the gift of the hitherto "tainted" ointment was the offering of the *penitent* and a token of her abandonment of the unholy life. Let the possessors of "tainted money" come confessing their sins, with the abandonment of their "system" of unrighteousness, and then as a token of their penitence give their money to God that it may in some fashion and measure atone for their wrongdoing, and we should be inclined to believe that the money would be sanctified. In the case of Zaccheus, the rich tax-gatherer, as a token of his penitence and reformation he declared that wherever he could do so he "restored fourfold" to the men whom he had wronged by his professional "squeeze," and for the rest he gave the "half he possessed to the poor." Let the "system" and all who have adopted the methods of the "system" seek out those whom they have in their business relations "squeezed" and crowded out of business by the power of their system and their enormous wealth, by their "rebates" and "secret agreements," and restore to them "fourfold," and then give the half of their remaining possessions to the poor; then it is probable that what remains to them will be in sanctification. In the case of money-making as in fruit-growing, one must first "make the tree good" before "the fruit can be good." As "men do not gather figs of thistles nor grapes of thorns," so religious societies do not get clean money from the hands of commercially unclean men. Repentance, restitution (where restitution can be made), and a life and business method reconstructed on righteousness would seem to be the only way to sanctify "tainted money." This may be the setting of

a high ideal and the suggestion of a severe remedy; but so is the Sermon on the Mount a high ideal and the "cutting off" of the offending hand and the "plucking out" of the offending eye a severe remedy; but in certain cases it must be done or "hell" is at the other end of the refusal. In any case there are few who would urge the abolition of the Sermon on the Mount or the abrogation of the Savior's remedy for certain serious "offences."

The question under discussion is not an abstract or an academic one. The recent gift of a "certain rich man" to a Christian Foreign Missionary Society has awakened the protest of a large number of Christian ministers against their society for receiving the money, on the ground that it was the price of oppression, fraud and dishonesty in its acquirement, and that to receive it with thanks was to condone the dishonest methods and become *particeps criminis* with the man and the "system" which the gift represents. This objection seems too simply obvious to need discussion. The real question is whether the money is "tainted" in the sense that it represents a method of business which violates the essential moral principles which should underlie every honest business transaction. Mr. Rockefeller, Sr., is singled out as the man chiefly criticised, not because he alone practices the "system," but because he is the man who made the particular gift under discussion, and especially because he is the inventor, genius and master-spirit of the "system" by means of which he has amassed the most colossal fortune in the world; and further because he is conspicuous in his profession of the Christian religion.

A thief, a gambler, a highwayman, or an embezzler of trust funds is judged by the criminal statutes of the country in which his offences are committed. A business man whose methods of acquiring money are brought into serious question, though he may not have been condemned by law, must be judged by the standard of commercial morality in the

community in which he lives and does business, and if he is a professing Christian man, by the ethical standards of Jesus Christ. By business ethics we do not mean that system which the man under discussion and his partners have formulated, but those "old-fashioned" ethics which, as Mr. Roosevelt has so happily put it, ask for one's self in business only that which one is prepared to give to one's client or competitor—"a square deal."

Now the question is: Has Mr. Rockefeller acquired his enormous fortune, out of which he has dribbled and is still dribbling some gifts to education, charity and religion, fairly and honestly? If he has, then his money is clean. If he has not, then his money is tainted, and especially so if he persists in a method which by the consensus of the common conscience is regarded as both dishonest and dishonorable. How are we to know "whether these things be true?" We grant that rich men are usually the objects of envy and jealousy and are often the subjects of unjust criticism. Mr. Rockefeller should have the benefit of every reasonable doubt in this matter. In the present case the "system" which is the creation of the man, as well as the man himself, is the subject of an almost universal adverse judgment. It is true he has his defenders, some of them passionate and vehement; but in most cases they are either his partners, the holders of his stocks, business dependents, or the beneficiaries of his "benevolence." The indictment against the Standard Oil Company and those who originated and still manage its affairs does not rest upon the vague "they say" of irresponsible or merely jealous and prejudiced competitors, but upon such an array of hitherto undisputed facts as was never before marshalled against any set of men or business operations in the whole history of our country or the world. For illustration: If the story of the Standard Oil Company as written by Miss Tarbell is true, or anywhere near true, then the

transactions of that company and those who direct its affairs are little better than the enterprises of pirates or highwaymen. The highwayman rides up to his victim, pistol in hand, and demands: "Your money or your life!" The pirate sails up alongside his intended victim and with superior force of men, shot and cutlass overpowers him. The Standard Oil Company approaches a small business competitor and demands: "Your business or your commercial ruin"; or by means of its powerful organization, its "rebates," "secret agreements" with railroads and its unlimited wealth simply says: "Get out of business or we will drive you into bankruptcy!" It is not a case of fair competition. They have loaded their dice, they have stacked their cards. They know no such rule of business as the "square deal" or the time-honored "live and let live" of the honest merchant. It is simply with them: "We have the power and do not propose to brook any competition. Right or wrong, with us it is simply a question of might." If the statements of fact of Mr. Lloyd in his *Wealth Versus Commonwealth* are true or anywhere near the truth, then there are better men behind the bars than the managers of this gigantic organization.

The question is: Are these grave and circumstantial indictments true, or are they the scandalous libels of disappointed and jealous operators upon the business of good and honest men who by superior genius and business ability have, in lawful competition, outstripped their competitors in the race for wealth? If these specific indictments are not true, then the authors of them are scandalous libelers and defamers of character, and the workers of untold public mischief, in that they have shaken the confidence of the whole community and brought worldwide scandal and disgrace upon the business reputation of our countrymen. If these indictments are not true, and the Standard Oil people are honest men, then they would at once move to clear

themselves of the grave impeachment by prosecuting those defamers of their good business name for criminal libel. But again, what are the facts? Miss Tarbell's book, published by a reputable and responsible firm, is on the counters and stalls of every prominent bookseller in the country and on the tables of all the great clubs and among the books of most of the leading men in the country. Mr. Lloyd's *Wealth Versus Commonwealth* is by a gentleman and student of unimpeachable character, and the manuscript was submitted to some of the best lawyers of the country and then published by one of our oldest, most conservative and responsible publishing houses. Mr. Lawson's terrific arraignment in his story of "Frenzied Finance" has gone into the hands of millions of readers; and yet the Standard Oil magnates take no steps to bring these defamers of character to book, or even to defend themselves from the charge of crimes laid at their doors. The feeble denial of Mr. Rogers and the recent passionate defence by Dr. McArthur do not meet the case. The hitherto successful policy of silence, backed by untold millions of wealth, still prevails. Is it true that the poison of this monstrous "system" has so entered into the blood of our great newspapers and that the arms of this octopus have so encircled our great financial institutions that they have no breath with which either to deny or to protest?

It is said that the law of the land does not take cognizance of these alleged "crimes of the Standard Oil Company"; that since the law against "rebates" was passed the Standard Oil Company has never practiced that iniquity. Let that be granted. What does it prove? Only that the lawmakers of the land have locked the stable after the horse has been stolen. It does not prove that the theft was not a moral if not a legal crime. Law does not make crime; it only reveals it and provides for its punishment. "By the law is the knowledge of sin." Nor does the absence or inoperativeness of

law prevent or disprove the alleged evasion of law or the practice of "secret agreements" by which the iniquity still goes on.

It is also to be said that the immediate operations of this company and its methods are not its worst offences. Its operations and its stupendous success (?) have inspired and stimulated a business method that has given birth to a vast brood of similar institutions that have practically enveloped the necessary business of the country within their octopian arms. The Beef-Trust, the Car-Trust, the Sugar-Trust, the Coal-Trust, *et hoc genus omne*, have the consuming public so in their grip that practically no man can eat or buy or sell except by leave of these modern robber-barons. More than this: So vast and ramified are the operations and interests of this company that banks, trust companies, railway companies and other public utilities are so more or less tied up that they can no longer act independently. The evil has spread to such an extent that the Federal government as well as some of the state governments have been compelled to enact laws for the protection of the people and to institute criminal proceedings against these, or at least some of these trusts, for their evasion and violation of law. The recent revelations in connection with the investigation of the Beef-Trust are only specimen pages from the story of the Standard Oil brood. The scandals of the Equitable Life, of some of the great banking institutions and trust companies, no less than of Amalgamated Copper, are more or less traceable to the "genius of the founder of the Standard Oil Company." If it seems far-fetched to saddle all the crimes of modern industrial enterprise upon one man or one company, it must be remembered that a man is responsible for his influence as well as for his immediate actions. It is said of good men that "their works do follow them." Is it not equally true that the works of bad men follow them? The Scotchman who first scattered a handful of thistles on the Pacific coast, though

with no evil intent, is morally responsible for the curse of thistles that since then has burdened the land; just as the man who let loose a swarm of bees on that same coast has blessed the land with honey and sweetness. Old Fagin was responsible for the crimes of Oliver Twist. Every teacher is more or less responsible for the merit or blame attaching to the actions of the pupil whose character and principles he has formed. The taint and smell of Standard Oil has penetrated our whole commercial system. This diffusion of methods and principles, it seems to the author, is the worst offence of the Standard Oil system. The worst of all its crimes is that it has so far deadened the conscience of the Church of God, at least in some parts and places, that for the sake of its gold its principles and methods are condoned, and her servants stand hat in hand to receive a dole of the money that pours out of this fruitful hopper—money stained with blood and vocal with the sighs and groans of those who have suffered oppression and ruin at the hands of its operators.

Is Mr. Rockefeller only to be blamed in this matter? Are there not others? Then why single him out as though he were the only wrong-doer? Undoubtedly there are others; and all who are deliberately and of purpose following up and out the Standard Oil methods and participating in its profits are in like condemnation. But Mr. Rockefeller is singled out mainly because he is the reputed genius, inventor and chief promoter of the "system"; because he stands clothed in a profession of Christianity which, according to every tenet of its ethical teaching, is being contravened; because he is a conspicuous patron of the church, of so-called Christian education and philanthropy, by which means he brings the church into fellowship with himself and his methods of business. If it is objected that others are equally compromised by these charges of unrighteousness in business, not to say crimes against sound commercial and Christian ethics,

the reply is that the controversy heads itself up in Mr. Rockefeller. To settle the controversy with him is to settle it with all who are associated with him and all who practice his methods. Doubtless the money of the Beef-Trust and others of the same genus is as tainted as that of the Standard Oil-Trust and must and will be dealt with in the same manner; but until the question in respect of Mr. Rockefeller is settled it will be impossible to deal with that of his associates and imitators.

What shall the church do in the matter? This question has been practically answered above, but there are details which need consideration.

It is urged that Mr. Rockefeller and his money must be judged innocent and clean until he has been proved guilty by due process of law. That is practically the position of Dr. Parkhurst who said, if rightly reported, that he would accept the money of a gambler so long as he was unconvicted of the crime by which he came into possession of the money he proposed to devote to the cause of religion. This is not altogether a question of the technicalities of the law. It is a question of fact. Besides, there is a "higher law" than that of the statutes and there is a higher court than those of the state. Hitherto Mr. Rockefeller has remained silent. A man who remains silent under such serious charges must be considered as having "given consent," or else he must not complain if he be unjustly judged. Mr. Rockefeller has neither on the one hand denied the charges formulated against him and his company, nor on the other hand has he justified them. With such grave charges facing him it is difficult to conceive of any sensitively honest man remaining silent; if not for his own sake at least for the sake of the Church of God of which he is so conspicuous a member.

It is urged that it is impossible for the church to sit in judgment upon all the money that comes voluntarily into its treasury. In this and in other cases the

money did not come voluntarily but after much solicitation. But in any case it amounts to the same thing. Its immediate source was and is well known. But the church does and must sit in judgment upon men and money that seek entrance or acceptance within its membership or participation in its work. The money of Ananias, of Judas and of Simon Magus was rejected because of the men and their deeds who offered it. The money of a known thief, gambler or embezzler would by the lowest standard of Christian morals be rejected unless it came in the form of restitution, accompanied by evidence of repentance on the part of the offerer; and even then if it were possible to restore the money to those from whom it was wrongfully taken it should go in that direction rather than through the channels of the church.

But much "tainted" money must find its way into the church treasury through the collection plates, etc. Must a rigid examination be instituted of every contribution so made? This is a quibble, but it is easily answered. All meats in the Greek cities were first offered to idols before being sent to the markets. Paul says: When we are asked to eat or buy meat as offered to idols,—i. e., with that distinct understanding—then, though the idol is nothing and the meat in itself is nothing, it is to be refused; but if it is set before us or openly exposed in the market simply as meat, without raising the idol issue, then we may buy and eat without question of conscience. But when the issue is raised and it becomes a question of acceptance or endorsement of the idol, then even at the expense of life itself the meat must be refused. The principle is too plain to need discussion. But if this rule is to be rigidly or even measurably applied, "who shall stand?" Well, it may be that the "time has come when judgment must begin at the house of God." There are other tolerated offences within the church. Why pitch upon this one? There are other offenders in the church. Why pitch upon this par-

ticular man? Because this particular offence and this particular offender and chief of offences and of offenders are just now before the church. It is admitted that the tangle is an exceedingly complicated one. But here is at least one great Gordian knot. Let this one be cut and no doubt it will greatly facilitate the untangling of many minor knots and snarls. Because offenders are many and offences are multitudinous and smell towards heaven, shall we take the ground that no offence is to be condemned and no offender is to be censured or dealt with by the church? The money of the Standard Oil Company and its many allied industries and combinations furnish and have to do with a large proportion of the currency of the country. Is all the money that passes through Standard Oil hands unclean? This again is a quibble. A chemical mill or dyeing-house that empties its waste-water into a running stream pollutes it; but we are told that a running stream of water purifies itself after running a certain number of miles. In this case it is not a question of using the stream of money *miles away* from the source of pollution, but the stream of money issues direct and straight from the polluting works themselves. In any case the matter is so serious that it ought to be faced by the church in every branch of it, especially by those churches that are directly the beneficiaries of this "benevolence."

What shall the church do? It is certain that the church cannot at once accept the profits and denounce the business by which those profits are acquired. It is not a question of taking the money and "asking no questions for conscience's sake," for the reason that the answer to the question that conscience might ask is already proclaimed from the house-top. It has been said that if the church should refuse all money that has a suspicion of taint upon it, there would soon be no money with which to carry on the work of the church. The writer cannot believe that this is true or anywhere near

the truth. This is much like the scandalous saying that "no man can be honest and succeed in business." But even if it were true, the answer would be the same. What the world needs to-day more than success in any enterprise in which the church is engaged is a church whose testimony in the lives, social habits and business methods of its membership shall illustrate the righteousness taught by Christ and enjoined by His apostles. Let the church stand for holy living and righteous dealing among men and she will not lack for money to carry forward all the work her hands shall find to do. Is it not because we have lowered and relaxed our standards of life and business that we have ceased to inspire that respect and confidence which lead good men voluntarily to supply the church with her needed sinews of war and work? Let the millionaire with tainted millions alone. Let him bear the responsibility of them himself. Do not ease his responsibility by a partnership with him. He is only too willing to buy the church's condonation. Let him understand that he can no more buy the silence of the church with his money than Simon Magus could buy the power of the Holy Ghost with his money. The case is not exactly parallel, but the principle involved is the same. The church cannot thrive under the patronage of such a system as that represented by the Standard Oil and the Beef-Trusts. To cringe and fawn before these corporations or the men who represent and manage them is to stultify every principle for which the church stands or ought to stand. No good can come of any compromise or partnership with them. Indeed, to accept the gifts of such men and the corporations they represent is for the church to *sell her birthright and betray her Master for so many pieces of money*. The church's power is not in money, but in the favor of God and the presence of the Holy Spirit. Were the apostle Peter now on the earth, he would probably say to these men, who, having first outraged every teaching of Christ,

now seek to buy the approval or at least the silence of the church: "Thy money perish with thee; thou hast no part or lot in the matter." The message of the church to such men as these should be the message of James, the brother of the Lord: "Go to now, ye rich men, weep and howl for your miseries that shall come upon you. Your riches are *corrupted* and your garments are *moth-eaten*. Your gold and silver are *cankered*, and the *rust*

of them shall be a witness against you and shall eat your flesh as it were fire. You have heaped treasures together for the last days. Behold the hire of the laborers who have reaped your fields, which of you is kept back by fraud, crieth; and the cries of them which have reaped have entered into the ears of the Lord of Sabaoth."

GEORGE F. PENTECOST.

New York City.

DEPENDENT CHILDREN AND THE STATE.

BY SOLOMON SCHINDLER,

Superintendent of the Leopold Morse Home for Infirm Hebrews, and Orphanage.

IT IS essential to social conditions that they shall remain forever in a state of transition and that they shall produce new problems of life at every turn of the evolutionary wheel. People are constantly striving to solve these problems, but the daughters of Danaus might as well try to fill the bottomless barrel to which they are forced to carry water in sieves. The solution of every problem creates at once a new condition which in its turn creates one or more new problems.

Edward Bellamy pictured society as a cone poised upon its apex instead of upon its base. He described vividly how the cone was held in this unsafe position by the ropes of legislation. No sooner, says he, is the tension increased or relaxed on one side than the cone loses its equilibrium.

Of the many problems which the latest social developments have produced, none is of more far-reaching or vital importance than that embodied in the question: what are we to do with "dependent children" so-called? Many excellent people may not have heard of such a problem; others may care little whether this problem is solved in one way or another or not at all; again, others do not see that the unprecedented increase in the number of dependent children during the last decade is merely a symptom of a malady from

which modern society is suffering; nor will they agree that with the reestablishment of normal health the symptom will disappear.

What are dependent children? Whence do they come? What is done for them, and by whom?

Practically speaking *all* children are dependent. They are dependent upon the care and support of their natural parents who are held responsible by law for their life, their health, and their well-being until they are able to support themselves, that is, until they become of age. In speaking of dependent children, however, I shall apply the term only to those who, lacking natural protectors, are thrown upon the mercy of either communal or private charity for their support or care. These may be classified as follows:

1. Children who have lost father, mother, or both, by death.
2. Children whose parents are unable to support them because of the lack of earning capacity caused by sickness or some other disability not their own fault.
3. Children whose parents are addicted to vices or who are otherwise unfit to rear them. To this class belong children who are treated with cruelty by those who should lovingly care for them.

4. Children over whom their parents have lost control (juvenile criminals).

It would lead too far from my subject were I to enumerate the many reasons why, particularly in our large centers of population, the number of such dependent children has increased from year to year in an alarming ratio; but it is a fact which the reader can readily ascertain for himself that both asylums and reformatories for the young, supported either by private or communal charity, are fast becoming overcrowded, to say nothing of the vast army of children that are "boarded out."

In view of these facts, three questions present themselves:

1. Who should, nay, *must* care for these dependent children?

2. What is being done for them at the present time?

3. What might be done to solve this problem which is bound to assume larger proportions as time passes.

1. Who should care for dependent children? Naturally, those who would be most benefited by their proper training, and who are these? You and I and all the individuals who make up the state or community. A state—or if the word be too narrow, a community—is a body composed of individuals. The larger the number of individuals and the stronger the physical, intellectual and moral health of these units, the more vigorous and prosperous becomes the communal body. The life of every child, no matter how humble, is of value. Every boy or girl whose physical, intellectual and moral faculties are properly developed contributes so much additional strength to the future commonwealth.

It may be premature as yet to discuss the question whether the child belongs really to his parents and not rather to the state. Public opinion has not yet fully grasped the verity of the second part of the alternative; it has not yet become

fully conscious of the fact that birth is a mere incident in our lives, if not a mere accident. Slowly, however, the truth of that theory is coming to be admitted in certain quarters. It has come to be an undisputed truism that the welfare of the community depends upon the degree of development of its citizens, and that, hence, the state has the right to take children from their parents for a given time each day and for a given number of years in order to educate them. The corollary has also been accepted that if public-school education is to be made a success, even books and stationery must be given to the pupils free of cost; not as a charity, but as that which is due to them.

It may not be out of place at this point to consider briefly what this word "charity" really signifies.

Charity is some kindly action which one person performs for another without compulsion or hope of gain. As the recipient of the charity has no right to demand the gift because he offers no equivalent for it, so the giver of the benefaction follows merely an impulse. He gives because it pleases him. He can give, if he desires, to the most unworthy object and can refuse the most worthy petition. The underlying principle of charity remains forever the same: no equivalent is to be asked or expected. As soon as an equivalent is given in reality or is expected, the transaction ceases to be a deed of charity. Any such hope or expectation transforms the action into a bargain with more or less profit to the giver.

Parents do not rear their children on the basis of charity. Leaving out of consideration the natural instinct of race-preservation, the parents hope for and expect a return from the child either by his work in the years of his minority or by the care he will give them when the feebleness of age prevents their caring for themselves.

The same returns—capital, interest and dividends combined—does the state receive from every rising generation as it replaces an outgoing one. Why, then,

should it be the province of so-called "state charities" to care for dependent children, or why should private charitable institutions be asked, or even permitted, to assume a task which it is the *duty* of the state to perform? I have dwelt upon this point for a purpose. I wish the reader to understand that the whole success of rearing dependent children hinges upon the question of whether the task is undertaken in the spirit of duty or of charity. If the work be undertaken in the spirit of charity, the outlay will seem too great, no matter how slight it may be. Improvements will be hindered because the expense will be dreaded. Neither the child, his parents, nor the people will have any determining voice in the work because they will be expected to be extremely grateful for whatever they receive apparently without making any return. If, on the other hand, the state is held to be in duty bound to take care of the dependent children, the question of expense will be no more considered than is now the question of expense in regard to our public-school system, or with regard to those national institutions in which young men are prepared for military service. All needs would be supplied, only the best would be good enough, provided the results would warrant the outlay.

It is premature, however, to expect that the care of dependent children will be taken from the hands of charity and transferred to the educational department of the nation. It is easy, however, to understand why the work of caring for dependent children is divided between state charities and private charities. Private enterprise has many a time supplied the want before the public became conscious that it was its duty to improve existing conditions. Some twenty years ago, when the kindergarten system was unknown in American cities, a wealthy woman expended a vast sum of money in demonstrating the usefulness, nay, the necessity of that preface to education. Another woman did the same in regard to the introduction of physical culture. Char-

itable institutions supported by individuals have, therefore, a place in the community, but only for so long a time as they may serve the public as guides. Their mission ceases when the community acts upon their suggestions; but the very realization of their aims is the equivalent which they receive for their outlay, and the name "charitable institutions" is in fact a misnomer.

There is also a second reason for the existence of private institutions for the care of dependent children. Religious bodies have ever been eager to keep the children of their votaries within the fold of their own creed. If the state or some private party of a different religious faith would be given control of the young, whom they desired for their own, they might be turned away from their religion. Brought up under different influences, they would form new habits of thought. Various religious denominations have, therefore, established institutions wherein to rear the dependent children of their own creed. The right to do this is indisputable; but because of this right they forfeit the privilege of calling these asylums "charitable institutions." They are profiting by their own efforts. Every child reared in their faith repays them with compound interest by his very life; he aids them in perpetuating what they consider a most valuable inheritance.

2. What is being done for dependent children at the present time? Both state and private charities are practically working along the same lines. The oldest and best-known method is that which might be termed "the barrack-system," where the children are gathered in large buildings and are reared uniformly regardless of individual traits or characteristics. The advantages of this system were manifold. Cheapness is an important item in all *charitable* enterprises. The contributor who gives—as he thinks—something for nothing, expects the greatest possible amount of work to be accomplished for the least possible outlay. He

would rather see a thousand children brought up improperly than one hundred properly. Under the "barrack system" the per capita expense is reduced in direct ratio to the increase in the number of inmates. We should not lose sight of the fact, however, that when the need is pressing, the larger the number of inmates in such an institution the more good, comparatively speaking, may be accomplished. When such an asylum is properly managed, there is an opportunity to find out the special talents of the various children. An able educator in charge of such an institution might classify the wards in such a manner as to bring out the best that was in each child. He might also discover atavistic taints, and if he could not entirely eradicate them, he might at least render them less dangerous. Finally, such an asylum is always open to inspection. Mismanagement cannot remain hidden for any length of time. When one inspects a well-managed institution of this sort, pity arises for the majority of children living lives of misery in the slums of our great cities who have not been so fortunate as to lose their parents.

The "barrack system," however, has many disadvantages. If one of the inmates contracts a contagious disease, large numbers will be prostrated in spite of the greatest precautions. Immoralities carried into such a home from the depraved quarters of large cities by a few black sheep would require heroic treatment to stamp them out. The treatment so necessary to secure order among large numbers of children would tend to destroy individuality. The monotonous round of daily duties continued for a few years would destroy the power of initiative. A life of seclusion tends to place the asylum-reared child at a disadvantage when he comes to mingle with the outside world. As a bird, reared in a cage, is unable, when set free, to use his wings, to obtain food, or to avoid the snare of the trap-per or the claws of the cat, so the graduate from the asylum lacks the ability to cope

with the temptations and trials of real life.

As these disadvantages became obvious, they might have been remedied had it not been that these institutions were *charity* institutions, and therefore, were always hampered by the lack of funds. Therefore, a method diametrically opposite suggested itself and was introduced with the hope of even greater results for a still smaller monetary outlay. The child, it was argued, should grow up within the world as a member of a family. New ties of affection should be formed to replace those that for one reason or another had been broken. The child should be "boarded out." A respectable, well-recommended family should be found somewhere in the country that would be willing to give to such a poor dependent child a home in lieu of a small remuneration. Visitors should ascertain from time to time whether the little boarder was well treated. If one home should not be satisfactory, if one family did not seem fit to care for a child, or a child did not seem adapted to a particular family, another should be tried until the right child could be placed with the right family. It would cost less to employ a staff of visitors than to employ a staff of attendants in an asylum. Diseases would not spread. The child could grow up a member of the family, could become familiar with the ordinary work-a-day life of the world through personal experience, and finally, would find his proper place in the community.

This method would be an ideal solution of the problem, provided it did not have one serious disadvantage. Such ideal families who would take upon themselves the cares, the worries and the disappointments incident to the rearing of children may exist in fiction, but they do not exist in reality. There may be a few praiseworthy exceptions, but they cannot be found in such large numbers as are needed to care for the thousands of dependent children. The experiment is as yet comparatively new and untried, and we have only the word of the visiting agents that the method is a success. Is

this testimony sufficient? Is the opinion of the agent as to what constitutes a good family or as to what the future of the child should be, to be taken as final? Can it be expected that people who, as a rule, take such children for the return which they expect from them will be able to perceive and develop individual talents or to remodel a character tainted by unwholesome slum experiences? If it was the fault of the "barrack system" that the child was brought too much before public gaze, the "boarding out" system suffers from the still graver fault that the child is too far removed from public notice. We have printed statements from visitors describing the happy life of the "boarded out" child, and sometimes a picture is added of a boy standing beside a cow; but are there not unwritten histories of unhappy lives which are never published unless some especially flagrant crime against childhood has been committed? The "boarding out" system, however, could be vastly improved were it not that it is dependent upon charity. Any half-way decent home is considered good enough for the recipient of charity. Were it the duty of the state to "board out" dependent children as a *right* to them, the question of expense would not be considered. A better supervision could be established and conditions generally could be greatly improved. Being dependent upon charity, however, the "boarding out" system is a greater failure than was ever the "barrack system."

As a result of these experiences the idea at length was conceived of taking from the two methods the most satisfactory features and combining them in an entirely new plan. The "cottage system," so-called, was born which is as yet in its infancy but which promises great things for the future. Imagine a village situated in the suburbs of one of our large cities and composed of fifty to one hundred cottages. There are public squares in this village into which wide streets lead. There is a church and a gymnasium with bathing facilities to be found in the ham-

let. There are schoolhouses enough to accommodate all the children who are to be the residents of the little community. Each cottage affords accommodation for twenty children who live there under the supervision of a man and his wife, both of whom are trained teachers and who represent the father and mother. The distribution of the children in the various cottages is made from various view-points. The sex is considered, then the age, the temperament, and the equality of talents. The process of sifting and assorting is going on constantly so that every child finally finds his place in the little community where the best work can be expected of him. And work is expected. The whole work of the village is carried on by children from the age of twelve to eighteen years under the guidance of able instructors. A man of highest educational qualifications rules the little commonwealth, teaches and supervises the workers. The children will be kept in touch with the life of the city, and when the time arrives that the child is ready to take up the active life of the world, he will not find himself a stranger to it. The story of such an ideal commonwealth may read like a fairy tale, yet many of our foremost educators are already working for its realization. Why may not this scheme be adopted at once? Because the cost stands in the way. Each plant would cost as much and perhaps more than the support of West Point or Annapolis. Charity cannot afford such a luxury, and I hear the reader whisper: Were the community to support such an institution everyone would abandon his children and send them to it. What if this were to be done? Who supports the rising generation to-day? The people individually. Why should they not do it collectively? One more question arises. Where will the thousands of graduates find their places? In the army. Not in an army trained to destroy, but in an army trained to create wealth.

SOLOMON SCHINDLER.

Mattapan, Mass.

STRUGGLES OF AUTOCRACY WITH DEMOCRACY AT THE OPENING OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

BY E. P. POWELL,

Author of Nullification and Secession in the United States, Our Heredity from God, etc.

THE FIRST election of Mr. Cleveland to the presidency was a great popular protest against centralization. The platform on which he stood pronounced against war-taxes; against the presence of troops at the polls; against converting the general government into a tax-collecting machine; in favor of an active policy for commercial expansion; for civil-service reform; and for a policy friendly to American labor. The people, under a general conviction that the Republican party had deserted the fundamental principles of democracy, swung freely over in favor of a change. Under Mr. Cleveland, United States troops were recalled from the polls of the Southern states; commercial expansion was stimulated—without being merged into territorial expansion; civil-service reform was honestly enforced and broadened; and Mr. Cleveland himself persistently urged tariff-reform. His party, however, was too much under the control of the lobby to inaugurate even moderate trade freedom. Nor was it any more friendly to labor—and especially was this true at Washington—than were its predecessors. Mr. Cleveland's convictions were soundly democratic, but his temperament was autocratic. At his inauguration he pronounced for a single term of office; but at the close of four years he was convinced that no other man could save the country—an opinion easy to adopt, but difficult to discharge.

Harrison was nominated and elected on a purely partisan platform in which we find this curio: "The Republican party is in favor of the use of both gold and silver as money, and condemns the policy of the Democratic administration

in its efforts to demonetize silver." So little does either of the great parties know its own children. Mr. Harrison's administration was notable for the conduct of Speaker Reed in enacting, on his own motion, new and rigid rules for governing the House of Representatives. He won the title of Czar; but the people took little interest in the usurpation, because of a growing conviction that the House of Representatives was ruling "by its own right"—without owing responsibility to those it represented. This fatality covered appropriations, on the supposition that what Congress spends is out of a public fund—a deceit liable to be fostered so long as indirect taxation conceals from the people what the government takes and spends. Only when the people see and feel their taxes will they resent the waste of the surplus. The McKinley tariff bill differed in no way from those that preceded it, except in its deeper devotion to the principle that the great end of legislation was to shut out foreign trade and keep the home market for our own producers. But it happened at this very moment that the farmers of America were burning their corn for fuel and feeding their wheat to the hogs. The one all-important need of the farmer was not the home market, but to secure the markets of the world.

The People's Party, born out of the Farmers' Alliance, was organized, and secured such a rallying of independent voters that it elected nine members of the House of Representatives and two Senators, while casting over a million votes for President. Although sneered out of existence as the "Populist Party," most of the principles it advocated had become

the staple of its opponents. Among those most prominent have been senatorial elections by the people; enlargement of postal service to include postal savings-banks and parcels-post, governmental control of aggregated capital, to prevent fraudulent issuance of stock; a graduated income-tax; economy in public expenditure; and the relief of agriculture from unjust taxation.

Mr. Cleveland's second administration opened under less favorable auspices than his first. He should have kept Bayard at his right hand; instead he made him Ambassador to England. The balance of trade was rising nearly to a margin in our favor. Prosperity required above all things peace and a stimulus to commercial expansion. But Mr. Cleveland's autocratic temperament asserted itself fatally over his democratic principles. He began with an effort to undo the work of his predecessor, who had advocated the annexation of Hawaii. Mr. Cleveland not only showed unexplainable zeal to prevent annexation, but he entered into official correspondence with the de-throned Liliokulani. This was more than disloyalty to the United States; it was international treason. Following closely on the heels of this arrogant assumption of power came the Venezuela Message. Reading backward the noblest event of the century—the political alliance of Great Britain and the United States against despotism, in 1823—the Monroe Doctrine was made to endanger the peace of the Anglo-Saxon world, and to saddle the United States with a protectorate over two continents. The protest of the people was one prolonged roar from the Atlantic to the Pacific. Peace was preached from ten thousand pulpits, and arbitration congresses were held in England and America. On the whole democracy would have lost but little by this combination of executive blundering and stubbornness had it not been followed by Mr. Cleveland's refusal to give aid or encouragement to the Cubans, whose condition was such as to rouse the

indignation of the whole world. Encouraged by our "friendly relations," Spanish tyranny became infernal. Mr. Cleveland soon began to reap what he had sowed. Blocking the way to commercial expansion and turning the eyes of the people inward to their own troubles made Coxeyism a feature of our national life. Tramps increased enormously, while millionaires multiplied. Wealth was concentrating as well as political power. These two forces most naturally coöperated. So came about the birth of those corporate aggregations of capital which we have learned to call the "trusts." The republic with abundant harvests and more wealth per capita than any other nation on the globe, nevertheless became bankrupt. We had to borrow money every six months. The bonds issued were placed at the option of capitalists, until Mr. Cleveland was compelled by popular clamor to offer the later issues to the people. The labor situation was most alarming. Great strikes took place, attended with extreme violence. One of these, which centered in Chicago, was suppressed by Mr. Cleveland with the United States army, unsolicited by the Governor of the State,—in fact against his protestation that the State could take care of itself.

Meanwhile the misery and resentment of the people had formulated into more or less coherent expression in all sorts of party platforms. Among the demands made in the name of reform were national ownership of railroads, telegraphs, telephones and other means of transportation and communication; municipal ownership of public franchises in towns; scientific control of forests and waterways; a progressive income-tax; compulsory education; referendum of all important laws to the people with more or less power of initiative; representation of the minority; prohibition; and old-age pensions. The first platform of the People's Party demanded a national currency issued directly by the Government; free coinage of silver and gold, at a ratio of

16 to 1; a graduated income-tax; economy; a postal savings-bank system; public ownership of railroads, telephones, and telegraphs; no more alienation of public lands; limitation of office of President to one term; election of Senators by direct vote of the people; no subsidies to private corporations. Ridicule cannot conceal the fact that most of these propositions still lie close to the heart of the American people.

The so-called Democratic convention of 1896 was a spontaneity. It was not planned; right or wrong, it was the voice of the common people. It astounded no one more than the party managers. It was above all a thoroughly sincere convention. It believed its platform, and it intended to carry out the principles laid down as its planks. During the campaign its opponents forgot their own platform in their determination to prevent the victory of these principles. It has been described as an effort on the part of the Democrats "to combine the weak, the poor, the debtors, the employed, against the men who were designated as plutocrats." Was it? Others hold quite as firmly that it was a spontaneous uprising of the people against the increasing potency of centralization—both the centralization of capital and of political power. I am convinced that history will assert the latter view to be correct.

A close comparison of the last few years with 1796 to 1804 would bring out so close a counterpart as to startle the student of sociology. The demand of Hamilton was for an army of fifty thousand; we now have a provisional army of nearly one hundred thousand. Hamilton desired to attack Cuba and the rest of the Spanish possessions in America; we have fought a war with Spain and driven her off the continent. Hamilton desired an alliance with Great Britain; we have had so complete an understanding with England that it has amounted to an alliance. Hamilton desired to subordinate the states and increase the power of the central government; this has been the

peculiar work of the past few years.

This article will not undertake to discuss the necessity of the war with the Philippines; but it is quite within our purpose to note that as the King of England was also Emperor of India, so the President of the United States is Emperor of the Philippines. This endowment of Mr. McKinley and his successor with absolute civic and military power over those islands may not be unconstitutional, but it is extra-constitutional. If the President rules a part of the nation's land-holding a part of the time, may he not at some period be allowed to rule all the land all the time? Surely the road is a strange one for popular government to be traveling. Meanwhile the Supreme Court, unfortunately always too ready to side with autocracy, was prompt to decide it constitutional to govern our provinces by czar power, while it forbade to the people trial by jury.

The most alarming fact that characterized the close of the nineteenth century and the opening of the twentieth was that the weakening of democracy at Washington reappeared with aggravated symptoms in our state capitals. The legislatures of 1900-01 went a rifle's range farther than any of their predecessors. In Pennsylvania a "Ripper Bill" was pushed through the legislature, abolishing the offices of mayor for Pittsburg, Allegheny and Scranton, and creating instead city recorders, appointed by the governor. In Michigan the regulars had difficulty in managing Detroit, and in a night an essential part of the Detroit government was purged after the Pennsylvania model. The legislature of New York dared even to attack the fundamental institutions of Society. It merged town elections in state elections, and practically suppressed that independent town action which has characterized Anglo-Saxon life since it emerged from Jutland and Saxony. Wherever a county proved itself difficult in the hands of the boss, its local self-government was taken away, to be exercised at the state capital.

A senator apologized by saying that the American people would sacrifice anything for "good government." The reply was, "Then call in the Czar." Our complaint against England in 1776 was not lack of good government, but government at all. The end of social organization, according to democracy, is not government, but to teach the people to govern themselves.

The tendency to disfranchise cities arises from the very nature of the charter. Not a city in the United States is free to govern itself. Its charter is liable to be amended at any moment for party purposes. The people submit, and the danger is that they do submit. A healthy revolution will clear the atmosphere. New York city has had to choose between Tammany and Albany; naturally she chooses Tammany. Such municipal misrule as Tammany inflicts has in large degree been possible because of legislative arrogances. In Kansas City the people surrounded the common council with ropes and revolvers, compelling them to stand on a table and swear not to vote away public franchises to greedy corporations. Chicago, with Cleveland, Toledo, and Columbus, Ohio, elected mayors pledged to municipal ownership of public franchises. In Wisconsin it became illegal for any city or town to vote a franchise that could be operated within sixty days after the grant; and if, during that period, ten per cent. of the voters demanded a referendum, it must be permitted.

In 1900 it was all-important that we should have in our administrative department at Washington a man of progressive statesmanship, capable of measuring the needs of popular government, and by temperament fitted to resist the autocratic tendencies of the other departments. Mr. McKinley was such a man. His last speech, at Buffalo, just before his assassination, declared that the time had come to put an end to commercial warfare and to establish international reciprocity. His death seated

in power a man of exactly the opposite disposition; a man whose character was represented by such significant phrases as "rough-riding" and "strenuous"; a man who had, in his *Winning of the West*, stigmatized the two ablest statesmen the republic has ever produced as "those infamous men, Thomas Jefferson and James Madison."

Already industrialism was rapidly rising to dominate the enterprise and the spirit of civilization. It was keenly to be desired that this new evolution of social economics should imbibe the spirit of democracy instead of autocracy. On the contrary the contest became at once sharp between capitalized political power and true statesmanship. The lobby, which formerly stood for local interests, and for tariff protection, now stood boldly for trusts and universal domination. It bought and occupied seats in the Senate, and unseated those who had been honestly elected to the House of Representatives. It was not caricature, but the portraiture of an accomplished fact, that placed Mr. Hanna's picture beside Mr. McKinley's on inauguration day, and again beside that of Mr. Roosevelt when the latter was nominated in Chicago, in 1904—the captain of concentrated capital and the captain of centralized political power—a coalition which proposes to govern the United States. Such an alliance drops our whole popular self-government out of sight, and leaves instead "the machine." It is not surprising that in the same autocratic spirit labor federations, imbibing the spirit of arrogance, put a heel of lordship on the free toiler. In one case as in the other the chief interest of the republic is to cultivate equality and fraternity. Labor, which is the gold of a democratic citizen, must be held to be more valuable than minted coins.

The United States *Investor* says: "The astutest commercial minds in the world are to-day intent on subverting the government of the United States to their private ends. Their plan is to secure the enactment of measures calculated to

enrich themselves at the expense of the people. Such measures must inevitably reduce the masses of the public to economic servitude, and have a strong tendency to crush that independent spirit which has so far been the chief characteristic of the Anglo-Saxon race."

Capital, which dictated the Porto Rico tariff, if it did not stand behind the Philippine war, now undertakes a shipping-subsidy bill at the cost of manufactures and agriculture. A protective tariff for manufactures and a shipping subsidy for commerce! But where, pray, is the agriculturist? He pays the tariff on his clothes, and he pays the subsidy on his way to the foreign market won by his own energy and tact.

Capital assumes the right to break up an industry, where hundreds have been gathered for homes and food, sending helpless families adrift at its own option. The capitalist insists on his right to use the laborer so long as it profits him, with the equal right to toss him aside, like an old shovel, when no longer needed. The fact that one millionaire out of twenty is a free giver of his accumulations does not answer the problem. We do not wish to be turned into a nation of paupers to be fed at the crib of Cræsus, any more than we wish to be slaves of Cæsar. During the Chicago riot, to a benevolent proposition the workmen replied: "Damn your charity; what we want is justice!" This is the fundamental principle of American history: we wanted, we have taken, and we must preserve *justice*. Equal industrial rights are as essential to liberty as equal political rights. A bank president says: "There are to be great changes in our industrial life. The only outcome must be to take all the people into the combines, by a system of public or common ownership. The masses are too intelligent to be perpetually crowded out." We cannot wonder that industrialism in turn catches the spirit of autocracy.

During the first four years of the twentieth century the disregard for law has

certainly increased. This has been shown by the enforcement of mob law, not only in the South but in the North as well. That which our national Executive may do, the private citizen is bound sooner or later to do. If the Constitution can be overridden at Washington, statute law will be trodden under foot by the common people. If our President will treat a small republic as he dare not treat England or Germany, our Governors will concentrate power at the state capitals, and under-officers will be pointed the way to autocratic exercise of power. The absolute breakdown of law in Colorado, the seizure of men without warrant and their deportation without trial by men elected to uphold law, is the finality toward which autocracy points. If this can be tolerated for Colorado it is sure to occur sooner or later in every state in the Union. We shall be dragged from our beds, harried into cattle-cars and dumped in alien fields at the will of either anarchists or autocrats,—the two terms are interchangeable.

The possible danger ahead cannot be overlooked by even the most assured optimist. Mr. Morton, assistant Secretary of State with President Harrison says: "Until the last three or four years the will of the American people has been to uphold law, but we are now breaking loose from this sentiment. The assertion of might over right at Washington has bred a spirit of lawlessness everywhere. What the country needs for a president is a man of judicial temperament; an upholder of the law and the constitution." We are in need of men like Jefferson, who ever spoke to the conscience of the people.

Neither of the platforms issued by the two great parties of America during the summer of 1904 came from the heart of the people; nor did either of them divine the real economic condition of the country or outline a courageous future. Cowardice, one of the consequences of tolerating autocracy, is the order of the day. It permeates every convention and every caucus. But the two platforms did leave

for the voter a choice between subsidy and no subsidy; between war-tariffs and commercial peace; between constitutionalism and strenuosity, with the possibility that a change of administration would leave the door open for the discussion and probable adoption of some of the more important political reforms.

The struggle of the people one hundred years ago to rescue themselves from Federal autocracy involved riots, with not a little bloodshed. The clash was violent, because "the best" really believed that the common people were unable to govern themselves. The second struggle with autocracy was hardly less forceful, and

the Civil war emphasized the third. That the atmosphere will again clear itself of distrust of the people, without a sharp struggle and some breaches of peace, I do not believe. Not only do ills repeat themselves in cycles, but also remedies. It has been the object of this series of articles to give a succinct historical review of one of the most important lines of social evolution. The study of progressive popular government and the contention of centralization to suppress it is of importance to every citizen of a republic.

E. P. POWELL.

Clinton, N. Y.

POPULAR EDUCATION IN RURAL DISTRICTS THE SUPREME NEED OF THE SOUTH.

BY AGNES VALENTINE KELLEY, M.D.

ONE OF the most important questions before the American people to-day is the subject of popular education in the Southern states. Comparatively few Northern people appreciate the need of this section or the comparative helplessness of many of the Southern states, due primarily to the widespread desolation wrought between the years 1861 and 1865 and from which the Southern states, and especially those on the Gulf, have been slowly struggling since the era of reconstruction. The people of many of these commonwealths, notably Alabama, Louisiana and Mississippi, are poor. The states are poor. The governments are not in a condition as yet to furnish popular education for their people, especially in the rural and outlying districts. I think it is safe to say that no people in the confines of our republic are more eager or anxious for education to-day than the white citizens of the rural districts of Louisiana, Alabama and adjoining states; and I believe that it is equally true that when the problem of popular education

in these rural districts is solved we shall have gone a long way toward solving the race question. These states are potentially rich, but they are paralyzed, and until they are in a position to give good school facilities to industrious, enterprising, home-building people the tide of new life that should be pouring into their borders will pass to other commonwealths.

"Eighty thousand children are passing the educable limit every year, and fifty-five per cent. of these children are not in school." Why? Because we have not suitable schoolhouses in which to carry on our work. In the cities the school-buildings compare favorably with those of northern towns of the same size, but in the rural districts and the less well-to-do communities the conditions are pitiable in the extreme. I am familiar with a number of places from fifteen to twenty miles square where no schoolhouses of any kind can be found. Many of these communities are entirely dependent upon the voluntary service of chance city visitors. I have known several instances

where persons have been moved by the condition of the people—children and oftentimes older people—to establish for a time schools. These were sometimes held in the front-room of cabin homes, or, when the weather was good, under the shade of the trees; and here young and old were taught the common branches of learning. "Sixty per cent. of the rural school-buildings are small wooden boxes with rude and insufficient furniture and afford little or no protection to the children in any kind of weather. Good teachers will not continue teaching in such buildings, for their services are in demand where buildings and equipment are in harmony with the teacher's qualifications."

A good schoolhouse in any community will stimulate the people to provide by local taxation for the maintenance of eight months' schooling, and less than eight months per year is insufficient to equip a child for citizenship or social service.

In referring to the urgent needs of the rural districts, Governor Newton C. Blanchard, of Louisiana, recently wrote me: "To use the funds now in our hands to build schoolhouses in the rural districts would be to curtail the length of the school term (eight months) in places where schools are now held."

Governor Blanchard is making the subject of popular education the chief feature of his administration and under his wise guidance, aided and abetted by the entire administration, we are achieving splendid results; but although alive to the demands of the situation and willing and energetic, the state government finds the work too stupendous to accomplish alone.

And what I have said of Louisiana and Governor Blanchard applies with equal truth to Alabama and Governor Jelks. "You could not do a nobler work," wrote the latter gentlemen, "nor one that is more needed than the building of plain country schoolhouses in communities where the people are unable to build for themselves." And in another letter he

writes: "I will be glad to meet you at any time and place to confer with you, and assure you that as governor of this state (Alabama) you shall have my entire sympathy and hearty coöperation."

To illustrate the ability and willingness of the southern youth to learn, an instance in my own experience may be of interest. I was teaching one of these backwoods schools eight miles from a city of more than twenty-five thousand inhabitants, when one morning during my first term a youth came to make inquiries about beginning to study with us. He was a tall, broad-shouldered, handsome lad. Upon questioning him I learned that he was just past his seventeenth birthday. He could neither read nor write. Indeed, he did not know one letter from another. He was eager to learn, however, and when once started he made amazing progress. Before the term expired he could read and write of ordinary things, and he was calculating the cost of a street-railway from our interesting schoolhouse to the city above mentioned. This boy is now and has for several years been a cashier in one of the leading banking-houses in the capital of this state. This school was taught in the negro meeting-house, I paying the rent for it out of my own purse. The building was a rough board affair, with boards laid upon boxes for seats. The negroes of the same district had a good two-room lath and plaster schoolhouse built by northern money.

Another instance of the eagerness of these people to learn is found in a recent letter written by a teacher in the field to Mr. J. B. Aswell, State Superintendent of Schools of Louisiana, and sent by this gentleman to me. In this letter the teacher says: "They come to the night-school—gray-haired fathers of families, and one who brings with him his five grown-up sons. This shows that they are teachable. But what can a teacher making four hundred dollars a year do when it comes to building houses? Life, in its fullest, truest, broadest sense, they know nothing of. Home is not in the French

language. [This woman teaches in the Acadian-French districts.] Therefore I would have a cabin built exactly as their houses are, and I would develop its possibilities and show them what a home is and how it is kept. There I would teach them the social amenities, the refining influence of a cultured home where art, music and literature go hand in hand."

I quote once again from a letter, this time that of your editor to whom I am indebted for the invitation to write this article: "Nothing is more needed to-day in America than popular education—education that will make men and women broad, just, independent thinkers—education that will touch the heart while it lightens the brain; and there is no section of the country where that education is more needed than among our own people—the white people of the South."

Now a word in regard to the work which I am trying to do. I have promised the governors of Louisiana and Alabama to undertake the task of building one hundred plain country schoolhouses in these two commonwealths. Some of this work I can do alone, and so far as my means will permit I cheerfully devote them to the cause; but to accomplish the entire task I must have help. The governors of both states offer me their hearty co-operation and assure me that I have the cordial sympathy and coöperation of every officer in their states. I am a southern woman and I know the southern people and their needs. We who appreciate the urgency of the case and the absolute importance in a republican government of popular and universal education are determined to bring the standard of our schools up to that of any state in the Union. We are trying with all the power at our command and are going to accomplish this work so urgently demanded for the good of the state and the nation. First we must have the humble school-building in the country places—the primary school. I have lived for twenty years in the North, right among "nature's own noblemen," and I have noted with pride

and emotion the splendid generosity of this section of our great republic when the heart of the people is touched; and it is to the liberal-minded and generous-hearted patriots of our northland that I appeal for aid in this work of redemption—a work that appeals as much to the reason as to the heart. You give munificently to universities, to public-libraries, to churches, to the missionaries in China, India and Africa; but where in all the wide world is there a more fruitful field for effective work than the rural primary schools in the South, where there are tens of thousands of bright, intelligent American boys and girls eager for that start which the primary school alone can give—that start which will enable them to exercise the sacred duties of citizenship intelligently and to advance successfully along various avenues of legitimate and productive labor.

My purpose is to go personally and locate the site of each building, being careful that these houses are built where they are most needed, and I shall personally superintend the erection of every building, photographing the site before work is begun, the laying of the cornerstone, the building during process of construction, and also the school after its completion. By this plan of individual work contributors may have optical proof of the good which their gifts are doing. It is often a sad truth that large donations fail to reach the beneficiaries intended by the donors. By following the plan I have marked out, those who aid in this work will have palpable evidence of the faithful carrying forward of the work for which they have contributed.

Governors Jelks, of Alabama, and Blanchard, of Louisiana, have promised to be present and lay the corner-stone of the first building in each of their respective states. They have also promised that the laying of every succeeding corner-stone shall be accompanied by appropriate ceremonies.

AGNES VALENTINE KELLEY.
Meadville, Penna.

BIRDS AND BIRD-INTERPRETERS. A STUDY OF RECENT ORNITHOLOGICAL ESSAYS.

BY CHARLES C. ABBOTT, M.D.

Author of In Nature's Realm, Upland and Meadow, Notes of the Night, The Birds About Us, Birdland Echoes, etc.

NATURE has proved so mysterious to recent ornithological writers that they conclude there is nothing mysterious about it. We have heard from vague sources of "soulless clods," but never before knew that birds were to be so included. In a qualified way they are admitted to be conscious of their existence, but nothing more. The bird-interpreter is controlled by intellectuality, but the bird by instinct only. If life is conducted on such a plan, mankind stands for something separate and apart from animality, which can not be dogmatically asserted.

Because, judging from the human standpoint, an explanation is plausible, it is not irrefutable evidence that it is really the correct one. The real and the apparent are not the same. A man may appear to be doing what in reality he is not doing. He may be purposely deceiving the on-looker. Many a bird and animal "plays sharp" rather than risk fleeing with the odds against it. "Not so!" the bird-interpreters cry out, of late. It better suits them to have the world a vast machine. Take a small india-rubber band and roll it between your thumb and finger until you make a little ball of it. Ten lay it on the table. As the slight adhesion of its twists and folds gives way, the mass unrolls, leaps, lengthens and finally the ball becomes a band again. There is a suggestion of life in its purely mechanical movements and only a trifling variation can be detected, if we roll up a hundred instead of one. These bands and one prominent writer's birds are very much alike, but the actual bird is a very different affair. Blind men may insist that there is nothing but darkness, but is light less a fact because of their insistence?

The question is, is not man as well as bird, a product of Nature, solely and simply? Where is any mark upon him of other handiwork than that of Nature? The same is true of the bird. It is a lesser brother of the man but still a brother. Nature has parcelled out her gifts in most unequal way, but the gifts are the same. The quality is not to be questioned, but the lack of quantity is sure to command attention. Men are not equally endowed; neither are birds. A crow knows more than a song-sparrow, precisely as the European knows more than the Ethiopian. But men of the same race are not equal; neither are birds of the same species. Here, hinges the whole matter. Instinct is ruled out of court. There is so great individuality among birds that one cannot be an observer who fails to notice it. The bird-interpreters insist that every nuthatch is like every other one of its kind; that the nest one robin builds is the counterpart of every other robin's nest, and so on to the end of the long ornithic chapter. This is worse, that is, more misleading than the hysterical unnatural history that crowds the pages of many periodicals. Many write of animal life as if seen only in the cramped quarter of a Zoo, where faculties have no room to play; but out in the open, in the real woods and wildernesses, where the battle of life is actually fought, there this individuality asserts itself and just as in human crowds there are fools and philosophers, so there are birds and beasts that have keener senses than have some of their brothers and the advantages of greater wit are not lost sight of. The observer need not stand long in one place to see the weaker going to the wall.

There is coöperation among birds, there is sympathy expressed and succor ex-

tended when disaster threatens or overtakes, and by no cunning sophistries can this be demonstrated an impulse of instinct. If there is anything more hopelessly blind than "instinct," the sane naturalist would be glad to hear of it. Instinct could never lead a crow to do what every farmer knows he can and constantly does accomplish.

The general similarity among the individuals of any one species is readily explained, but only by going back to that early day when the differentiation of species came about. The present uniformity is the fruit of the varied experiences and experimentation of birds before fixation of habit was established. This, of course, not from choice but the necessity incident to environment. Instinct played no greater part then among birds than it does among men to-day. Three birds are, every summer, a feature of my door-yard, and they are cousins. The great-crested flycatcher builds in the hollow of an old apple-tree; the wood-peewee on the upper side of a horizontal branch of an oak and the phoebe-bird builds under the floor of the bridge that spans a little brook. This is the fixed habit of each. Was it always so? Did the day finally dawn upon three flycatchers, so widely differing, that the day before did not exist? By no means. The divergence from the ancestral type was not abrupt, we know, and the finally fixed method of nest-building was as gradually brought about. Experience was their faithful guide, as it is ours. They knew failure and learned to obviate it in future attempts—this of the race; then why not of the individual? It must be remembered, too, that the initial step in nest-building is the determination upon a site. Instinct could never lead a bird to some proper arrangement of branch and twigs, or point to one spot on the ground as preferable to another. If so, the very best locations would always be occupied and every summer, if we look, we can find where birds erred in site-selection. A site is chosen and choice is ratiocinative play and nothing else.

Certainly seeing one cat-bird is not seeing all. If the helpless and hopeless puppet of blind instinct, then these and all migratory birds should be scattered on the approach of frost like so many autumn leaves and not once in ten thousand times would the same bird return to its haunts of the preceding summer, yet I know as surely as one can hold in possession a fact, that the return of the same individual to the same locality does occur. True of the cat-bird with a most strange voice, that I have now in mind, it is and must be true of house-wrens tame beyond their kind and of phoebe-birds that summer after summer seek the same home until the original cup-like nest becomes a tower. Instinct has no power to control a bird in all it does, to convert it into an automaton. Not a bird but recognizes the significance of its consciousness, and so far is a free agent. Hence rebellion at once when instinct points to danger that it does not see and the bird's consciousness unerringly detects. If birds were really as has been asserted they are, then but one season would be required to annihilate them. Instinct has never proven all-sufficient for the preservation of life. It cannot outwit the wiles of all enemies. Happily their reason protects them in the long run though many the risk is theirs because of defective judgment. May not this be said of human-kind?

If we could conceive of birds as instinctive creatures only, what a charm would be gone from every field and woodland. As well pin gaudy bits of paper to the trees and let them flutter in the passing breeze. It is the bird's intelligence that attracts. Flesh and feathers like plant and blossoms would catch the eye perhaps, but never captivate the heart.

So long as there are birds there will be bird-interpreters but always let us pay the greater heed to the former than the sophomoric flashes of the latter may not blind us.

CHARLES C. ABBOTT.

Trenton, N. J.

THE EBONY HAND.

BY CLERIN ZUMWALT.

MY LIFE has been full of strange experiences. When a child I thought and dreamed of things of which no child ever thought or dreamed before. I seemed to remember things which had occurred in a previous existence, and by aid of these memories formulated thoughts and ideas concerning the world which startled my parents and adult associates. My dreams, even in healthful sleep, rarely bear any relation to my waking life, and sometimes bear no relation to the things of this world.

It is not of these, however, that I wish to write, but of an occurrence in real life which is so unusual that you will say as you read it, "What a wild freak of the imagination," or "An attempt to imitate Poe." These conclusions will be entirely false, and if at any point in my story you find something which you consider more improbable than all other parts—which seem contrary to all human experience, you may know that it is the portion which more than all is absolutely true.

I was born with an insatiate thirst for knowledge which led me through the lower schools at a rapid pace, and in the year of 18—I found myself ready to enter college. Wishing to become thoroughly acquainted with the surroundings of the school before the class-room work should occupy all of my time, I came to the town of Y., where the college is situated, fully two weeks before the beginning of the fall term.

One of the buildings in particular interested me much. It was partially disused and bore about it an air of age and mystery. It stood a little to one side of the campus in a clump of elms, and many of its basement-windows were choked by a rank growth of wild shrubs and vines. Here and there its massive walls were

growing gray and mosses were clinging to the aging stones. The northern and eastern sides were clothed in vines and reminded me of the ivied-walls in the stories of old English castles. The first and second floors of the western wing were used by the professor of natural history and comparative anatomy. The remainder of the building seemed deserted, and in the old unused rooms the dust of years had accumulated upon the floors while upon the walls could be seen the marks left by the college-boys and girls who sang and shouted and made the old halls ring in the long ago.

In the museum I had noticed a great sheet of fungus-growth and upon it the statement that it came from the tunnel under the hall. "The tunnel under the hall,"—those words roused my curiosity and I decided that here was a new place to explore while I was waiting for summer to pass and school to begin. The idea might not on a cool day have been very attractive, but with the thermometer at a hundred and twelve in the shade and the sun like fire outside, the idea of a cool, moist tunnel was not repulsive, and I began to search for a method of gaining an entrance to the place. Upon walking heavily on the floor in the basement, I perceived a peculiar hollow sound like that of a bass-drum, but could find no door or opening of any kind into the tunnel which I felt sure was just below. I had almost given up my search when one day as I was exploring a peculiar old wooden shed at the west end of the building, I saw a suspicious-looking dark opening very low down and apparently running below the basement-floor. Moving away some boards and old timbers, I thrust my head within this hole, and there before me was the tunnel. It smelled mouldy even in this dry season, but seemed refreshingly cool compared with the torrid

heat outside. The darkness was so great that I could judge nothing of its extent, although I saw that it grew wider and deeper a short distance from the entrance. I decided to return early upon the following day with a lantern or candles and make a thorough exploration of the place.

Morning soon came and I prepared myself with a half-dozen candles and a box of matches and started for the tunnel. Creeping through the opening I found myself in a cellar-like place, so low that I was compelled to stoop to prevent thumping my head on the basement-floor. About half way down the building the tunnel opened to north and south. I turned north, and the ground dipped downward until I could nearly stand erect. Near the north wall of the building I stumbled upon a small boulder of the kind common to glacial deposits, which was nearly embedded in the earth and which the workmen who dug the tunnel had apparently considered it not worth while to remove. The stone was ground and cut in a very marked way by glacial action, and wishing to obtain it as a geological specimen, I crept to the mouth of the tunnel and selecting an old iron-bar from the pile of rubbish I returned and attempted to pry the stone from its bed. After working for fifteen or twenty minutes I was able to move it, and at last succeeded in turning it over. As I stooped to examine the glacial markings I placed one foot in the hollow where the stone had laid, and as I did so the earth gave way and I fell in the midst of a mass of earth and stones into a cavern below.

I was half-buried in loose earth and small stones and was surrounded by a dread and awful darkness. My heart thumped painfully and for a few seconds I scarcely knew whether I was dead or alive. At last I rose to a sitting posture and felt in my pocket for a match, and striking it I looked around me. I seemed to be in an underground-chamber some ten or twelve feet high and fourteen in width, with an opening in one side leading into utter darkness. Rising cautious-

ly and tremblingly to my feet, I held the match high above my head to discover if possible what the room might contain, but just as I did so I heard a strange moaning sound, seemingly coming from a great distance and gradually changing to a curious rushing, like the movement of a mighty wind through a narrow passage. It drew nearer and nearer until a chilly gust of air swept into the chamber with a sound like the rushing of a myriad of wings, and my match flickered and went out, leaving me in total darkness, while the weird sound left the chamber and died away in the distance. Hastily striking another match I lighted one of my candles and began to look round the place for something which might be of use to me in climbing to the opening through which I had fallen. The mysterious wind and the moan had frightened me so that my hand trembled and a cold, clammy sweat came out upon my forehead.

Hearing no more strange sounds, however, I began to think myself very foolish to be frightened by a draught of air which was probably caused by the opening I had made in falling through the roof. Looking round, I saw in one corner of the chamber a long box, covered with mould and looking as though it might have lain there for years. It was about six feet in length and a foot in diameter. Lighting three or four more candles, I stood them in various places and going to the box I lifted one end. Finding it light, I drew it to the spot where I had fallen, and digging away the earth and stones with my hands, placed it on one end, piled the dirt around it until it seemed to stand quite firmly, and lifted myself carefully to a seat upon the top. Up to this time my only purpose had been to find a means of escape, but now that the opening through which I had so unceremoniously plunged was within easy reach, I began to look around the chamber and wonder what could have been the original purpose of the place and what was within the box upon which I sat. The candles

cast a feeble, flickering light upon the decaying ceiling and the walls of damp earth. The roof was upheld by massive timbers, upon which had been laid planks and earth. These timbers were mouldy and decaying, while the boards in the place where I had fallen through were rotten and soft. The opening at the side, through which the strange rushing wind had come, was little higher than a man's head, though much wider than the average door. The space beyond was black with a darkness which the feeble light of my candles could not penetrate, and for aught that I could see might be a hallway to perdition. A heavy oaken door, streaked with mould and studded with iron, was partly visible, the top hanging by a great rusty iron hinge, while at the base it had been torn loose and twisted back so that it was half-hidden in the chamber beyond.

Cautiously rising to my feet, and as I did so striking my head against one of the timbers which supported the ceiling, I found that it would be quite easy to lift myself to the tunnel above. Taking a last look at the gloomy chamber, with its flickering candles and dark, mysterious doorway, I drew myself from the box and attempted to climb to the tunnel.

Just as I was succeeding very nicely, I heard again that strange moan, far away but gradually drawing nearer, until the curious rushing again filled the chamber, and just as it came sweeping through and around the room a bit of rotten plank gave way beneath my elbow and I plunged again into the darkness below, and as I fell the sound departed, dying away in a moan just as it had done before.

A chill of terror crept over me and I tremblingly searched my pocket for another match, which I hurriedly struck and again looked around. Horror of horrors, my box was gone and with it my hope of escape—no, there it lay some distance from me and nearly in the corner where I had first found it. Looking for my candles, I found that they too were gone, and glancing toward the dark doorway

I saw that it was closed by the great oaken iron-studded door which I had noticed some moments before, hanging by one hinge and half-hidden in the shadows of the chamber beyond.

I was filled with a sort of superstitious horror and dread. What was the power that had carried away my candles, moved the box, and closed the strange old door with the broken hinge? The door, however, was not entirely closed, on account of its not hanging evenly, but swung downward on the side opposite the hinge leaving an opening at the front and top as wide at the widest place as my hand, and this opening was now a greater source of terror to me than the whole doorway had been before.

Drawing from my pocket and lighting my only remaining candle, I drew the old box again to the center of the room and after much labor succeeded in placing it upright and climbing upon it, and with a scramble was in the tunnel above.

After reaching the light of day I glanced at my watch and found that I had been in the place but little over an hour, but it seemed to me that it had been days since I had seen the sunlight. I was weak and trembling from the shock of my strange experience, and the events of the last hour seemed to stand forth with startling clearness.

I walked slowly homeward, and as I walked the feeling of fear left me, driven away perhaps by the warm rays of the sun and the dry summer air, and in its place came a great desire to see the chamber which lay just beyond the heavy oaken door that had so mysteriously closed. As for the wind and the moan, they had probably been caused by the hole which I had made in falling through the ceiling, and were nothing but a draught of air from some distant opening in one of the chambers. This, however, would not account for the disappearance of the candles and the movement of the box; but, in my frantic efforts to save myself from falling might I not have thrown the box to its position in the cor-

ner? The candles were doubtless covered by the additional earth which had come with me in my second fall; in fact, now that I stood in the light of the summer sun and felt the blood bounding freely through my veins, there seemed to be nothing at all supernatural about my little adventure, and I decided to tell my friend John Pierce about the old cellar, for such I concluded it must be, and get him to come with me and help to explore the place.

Pierce was a young school-teacher who was visiting in the city until the beginning of his school. He was rather materialistic in his philosophy, and was a close observer and a deep thinker. He ridiculed all kinds of superstitious fear, and seemed to me to be just the sort of companion one would wish in exploring such a place. I found him in his room, trying to read Spencer's *First Principles* and growling because of the excessive heat. I told him of the old tunnel and my adventure. At first he was inclined to ridicule the whole thing as a scheme to get him to walk up to the college in the hot sun and thus get a laugh on him.

At last I succeeded in convincing him that there was some truth in my story by reminding him that he had seen the old piece of fungus in the museum and read the statement that it was from the tunnel, and he agreed to take a peep into the place, reminding me at the same time that he had no faith in my old cellar story.

Obtaining a lantern we were soon at the college and standing at the mouth of the tunnel. Remarking that at least the place seemed cool, Pierce followed me into its mouth. I lead the way down the north branch to the opening through which I had fallen and lowered my lantern into the cavern. Stretching himself upon the ground he gave the place as thorough an examination as he could from that point-of-view.

"What do you think of it?" said I. "Is it not just as I said it would be?"

"I'll be hanged," said he; "I'd like

to know what anybody ever used such an old hole as that for."

"That's what I'd like to know," said I. "Suppose we get a ladder and a couple of hammers and a crowbar and come up after dinner and make some explorations."

"I'll go you," said he, rising from the ground.

"Come up to my house after dinner," said I, "and bring a hammer; I can find the rest of the tools."

After dinner I borrowed a crowbar, a hammer, a couple of chisels and a screw-driver, and put on an old suit of clothes and waited for Pierce. He was soon on hand with an axe, a hammer and an old grip.

I asked him what he was going to do with the grip, and he opened it, showing me some bananas and sandwiches and a large bottle of water, telling me that he did not propose to starve before we could dig out if we should get shut in the place, and besides that if there were any treasures there he would be prepared to bring them away with him.

We were soon in the tunnel again, and lowering the ladder into the hole we clambered down and looked around. I was no sooner in the place than I began to feel an unaccountable fear and dread, and half wished that I had not begun this work of exploration. Our lantern gave more light than had my candles and I saw that the roof was more decayed than I had at first supposed. The heavy cross-pieces seemed strong, but the planks were breaking through in many places under the weight of the earth above. The walls were irregular and crumbling, except the one toward the old oaken door, and it was of stone, covered in places with a damp mould. In one corner was a rusty flintlock gun with the stock almost entirely rotted away, and hanging above it on the wall was a leathern pouch such as our ancestors used for carrying their powder and bullets when they fought in the Revolutionary war. The pouch was empty, and we turned to the old box which

had been the means of my escape and which now lay near the foot of the ladder. A few blows with the axe and it was open, but it contained nothing but a few handfuls of dry leaves. I brushed them around with my hand to make sure that nothing of value was concealed among them, and then we turned toward the door with the axe, crowbar and lantern.

I felt that strange dread coming over me again, and the darkness of the chamber or hallway beyond as seen through the narrow opening was filled with a mysterious horror.

The door itself had the appearance of having been built to guard a treasure-house or prison. It evidently had heavy cross-pieces of timber upon the opposite side, for it was studded with row upon row of great iron nails and was hung with mighty hinges of heavy iron. The iron was rusting now, and the wood was decaying and was covered with streaks and spots of mould.

We stepped within and found ourselves in a passageway not more than five or six feet wide and eight or nine feet high, extending to the right to an apparently interminable distance and ending in utter darkness, while to the left it ended within a few feet of the door in a stone wall.

We had taken but a few steps down this passageway when we came to a door much like the one through which we had entered but upon the opposite side. It was likewise of heavy planks, iron-studded and covered with mould. It seemed, however, to swing into the chamber and not out into the hall as the other had done.

Taking the axe in my hand, I struck the door heavily. The sound of the blow echoed and reëchoed, and just as the echoes were dying away in the distance, I heard again that strange moan, far away, but coming nearer and gradually changing again to the strange rushing sound, sweeping down the hallway, until the wind struck us with its chilly breath and the lantern flickered, flared and went out leaving us in total, awful, darkness, as dense and heavy as pitch, while the

wind passed on and returned, going back far down the passage and dying away in that weird moan.

Before the sound died Pierce struck a match and in an instant lit the lantern, although I could see that his hand trembled as he did so. I was leaning against the wall, so weak that I could hardly stand. Pierce said not a word, but started, axe in hand, back toward the door through which we had entered.

It was closed but easily swung open again, and seeing our ladder safe in position I felt a little more secure. We turned and retraced our steps until we were again standing before the door which I had struck just before the wind came. It had been loosened by the blow, and now by inserting our crowbar we were soon able to swing it back upon its great rusty creaking hinges.

I had been expecting some utterly unearthly place to be revealed upon the opening of this door, but in this I was disappointed. Taking the lantern from Pierce's hand, I held it above my head to gain a good view of the room, and saw that we were in a rather large apartment bearing ample evidence of having formerly been the habitation of some human being. The walls being almost white, it was far less gloomy than the room into which I had fallen or the hallway without, and the first glance revealed two large cupboards, a number of shelves filled with books, two or three chests, some chairs and a table. Sitting by the table and leaning upon it was the figure of a man, his head resting upon one arm and the other lying upon the table, much in the attitude of a person who had fallen asleep while writing or studying. Drawing nearer to get a better view of the face, I saw to my horror the features of a grinning skull. The left side of the head was resting upon the left arm, and a fleshless, skeleton hand and wrist extended from beneath the grinning face. Beneath the bones of the right hand was a sheet of paper, decayed where it had come into contact with the hand, and dry now, but

stained nearly to the margin, evidently with moisture from the decomposed flesh. Another sheet filled with an irregular scrawl lay upon the table a short distance from the first. There seemed to be no moisture or unpleasant odor about the body; in fact, the air of the room seemed much more pure and fresh than that of the passageway without. Fragments of the clothing were still clinging to the bones, and the hair had not all fallen from the head, thus giving the appearance of a living man sleeping at his table.

"The poor fellow must have been dead for a long time," said Pierce, "or the body would have an offensive odor."

I had been stooping over the manuscript which lay on the table and now called Pierce's attention to the date, which was June 12, 1848.

"The man seems to have died or been murdered upon June 12, 1848," said I, "while in the act of writing a letter."

"I guess you are right," said Pierce, "for here is his pen," taking, as he spoke, a curious penholder from the table near the fleshless right hand.

Giving Pierce the lantern I took the first sheet from the table. The writing was irregular and bore evidence of the weakness of the fingers which had moved the pen, but by looking closely I was able to read the following:

"Great American Desert.

"June 12, 1848.

"Mr. JOHN FLEMING:

"Dear John:—I am very sick and have been sick for a week. Am hardly able to sit in my chair and write. I shall send this letter by Ben. Wilson if he comes while I am yet alive. If I should die before seeing you, write Mary at York, Penn., and tell her that I died claiming that I was innocent, and loving her with all my soul. I know that I must die within this month; the Hand has written it. Please destroy the Hand, John; remember that it was my dying request. Such power as it gives is not good for man to have. My keys are in the drawer of

my writing-table. The large brass key with the file-marks on it will unlock the chest where I keep the Hand. Leave my books and all of my manuscript in my den. Take anything which may be of use to you—you are welcome to it—but do not take a thing which will give to the world any part of my cursed learning."

This was the end of the first sheet, and taking hold of the fleshless wrist I attempted to remove the skeleton-hand from the paper. Parts of the fingers fell rattling to the table as I did so and in the intense stillness of the room the sound startled us and I felt a creeping sensation along my spine.

The hand had evidently ceased to move when the page was about half written, and near the fingers the paper had entirely decayed and the moisture from the decomposing flesh had stained the remainder so as to make portions of it totally illegible. Holding it close to the lantern I was able to decipher the following:

"I wish to tell you one thing, John, which I ask that you never repeat to a living soul. Tell Mary what I told you above. Keep this entirely to yourself. I did kill Jacob Schellenber . . . I killed him for . . . books from which . . . the greater . . . cursed learni . . . es not believe . . . It was . . . se of magi . . ."

The remainder was totally illegible.

We stood for a moment looking at the skeleton figure. How terrible to die in this curious, mysterious, underground home, far from civilization and loved ones, in the heart of the western wilds, and what could that strange Hand be which had foretold death and carried with it such a strange power.

"A strange death and probably a strange life," I remarked to Pierce.

"A murderer," said he.

"Yes, a murderer; a fugitive from justice, and yet a scholar," said I; "and it would seem from the letter that he murdered a Jacob somebody for books which

had something to do with the 'cursed learning' as he calls it."

Pierce placed the lantern on the table and stepping to the door closed it, and in doing so seemed to shut out black horror but close us in with death and mystery. The lantern lighted the grisly face of the dead, casting his shadow upon one side of the room, and because the lantern was near, the shadow was large and dark; it almost filled the half of the chamber with gloom.

"I do n't care to have that confounded wind coming in here and blowing out our lantern," said Pierce, as he returned from the door.

"Let's look over his books and see if we can find what he meant by 'cursed learning,'" said I.

Pierce objected and wished to search the room for money and get out as quickly as possible, but by dint of a little ridicule and persuasion on my part I induced him to look over the books with me, and a curious lot they were. I remember few of the titles, but most were upon philosophic, mystic, and kindred subjects. All of them, except a few of the philosophical works, would be considered absolutely worthless in this day of broad enlightenment.

The books examined, we turned to the table to look for the keys mentioned in the letter. The drawer was almost beneath the reclining figure, but by carefully turning the table we were at last enabled to open it and there lay a package of letters and a bunch of keys. Taking the keys, we turned to the chests. The first contained nothing but clothing, but the next, whose lock yielded to a large brass key which had evidently been filed to make it fit, was filled with curious articles the like of which I had never before seen.

In one end was a large square board with a circle marked upon it, possibly of inlaid ivory, at least of some very white substance. The board was dark and highly polished, bearing evidence of much use and great age. Just within this circle

was a hexagon, apparently of highly polished ebony and inlaid with an ivory equilateral triangle whose points coincided with three corners of the hexagon. A pin, apparently of solid gold and with its large top set with jewels, fixed the center of the hexagon to the center of the circle, and upon this pin the ebony hexagon with its inlaid ivory triangle turned with ease. The circle was divided into twelve parts, and just outside of each division was one of the signs of Zodiac, also of inlaid ivory. This was evidently an astrological instrument, and Pierce and I examined it for some time, noting the marks of age and use and wondering if it could be the Hand. Beneath this there were many curious ebony and ivory instruments, but none of gold, much to the disappointment of Pierce. In one end was an irregular object in a velvet sack. I opened the sack and drew forth a hand of ebony, a curious claw-like hand in the position of writing and holding a lead-pencil of the make of fifty years ago.

"The hand!" exclaimed Pierce.

"Yes, the hand," said I.

"Looks as if it might be the hand of the devil," said he; "of the very Old Scratch himself."

"But it can't write," said I; "it is nothing but a piece of ebony and can no more write than can a block of wood."

We examined it very closely but could find no mechanism of any kind which could possibly cause it to write. It seemed to be simply a piece of ebony carved to represent a hand in the act of writing, but why anyone should go to the work of making such a hideous claw-like thing was a mystery.

"Let me see it," said Pierce; "perhaps if I take it closer to the light I can make out its purpose."

I handed it to him and turned to the chest to get some canes which interested me because of their curious make. The chest was not more than two steps from the table where the lantern stood, and I kneeled before it with my back toward the ghastly form which reclined upon the

table. In this position I could see nothing of what Pierce was doing while I was examining the canes. The first two seemed solid, but the third was light and something rattled within. After some effort I was enabled to unscrew the top, but just as I was about to examine its contents I was startled by a low, hoarse cry from Pierce and turning saw him gazing at something on the table, his eyes starting from their sockets and his face as white as a corpse. He stood thus for a moment, and then without a word dashed to the door and wrenching it open fled down the corridor.

I seized the lantern and without looking for the cause of his flight followed him, reaching the foot of the ladder just in time to see him clamber into the tunnel above. I called to him, but my voice echoed strangely from the walls and re-echoed down the corridor. I waited for him to answer but no answer came. I stood for a time trying to decide whether to follow him, but for the moment curiosity was stronger than fear and I retraced my steps toward the mysterious chamber. In the corridor, just before entering, I held the lantern high above my head and tried to pierce the gloom of the farther end. An endless, utter blackness met my gaze and I stepped into the room and closed the door. I felt the old terror coming back upon me as I gazed upon the ghastly form at the table and I almost expected it to rise and grasp my throat with its long fingers and choke the life from my body.

The dead silence around me seemed to grow more and more intense, and I became possessed of a wild desire to break the stillness with a cry and yet had not the courage to do so. A cold perspiration came out all over me. I grew weak and trembled in every limb. Why had Pierce become so frightened? Had the dead man moved, or had he seen some horrid vision?

Gradually I became more calm. The form at the table did not move nor did ghosts or demons appear. At last I be-

came courageous enough to walk to the table and attempt to ascertain the cause of Pierce's fright.

There lay the ebony hand, and beneath the hand was a sheet of paper, and—horrors! what was that? Upon the paper in clear, bold lines was the drawing of a face. No words can describe that hideous countenance. It was expressionless, but loathsome in its lack of expression. It had never been drawn by conflicts of the soul; no rage or hate or love or joy or sorrow were written there. Its loathsome unearthly soullessness made the flesh creep. There could be no human heart there, moved by the thrilling emotions of life and love, but an intellect which could know though it could not feel, and might do fearful deeds through powers unknown upon earth. A countenance that was unearthly and incomprehensible, yet making the soul to shudder with a loathsome dread and more than loathsome fear. One gleam of human passion, though it were the wildest and darkest in the heart of man, would take away the horror of that face, for it would make it human.

The pencil held in the fingers of the ebony hand rested at the base of the picture where it evidently had paused when the picture was finished. I knew that the Hand had made the face, for no one of human mould ever conceived those lines.

The paper was worn and soiled, and had evidently been carried in Pierce's pocket previous to its being used for the sketch by the weird artist. Cold with fear and dread, yet spurred by curiosity, I lifted the ebony hand and turned the paper. The reverse side was clean, and placing the hand again in position I said in a hoarse whisper which sounded sepulchral in that hollow chamber:

"Can you write?"

"Yes, I can write," came the answer in bold, clean characters.

Not daring to speak again I asked in my mind:

"Will you answer some questions if I ask you?"

"Yes," came the answer, slowly yet clearly written.

"Was that your face you drew a moment ago?"

"Yes," in a hesitating way.

"Is this your hand?"

"No," written in a positive manner.

"Is it your tool?"

"Yes."

"Are you the spirit of a man?"

"No."

"Are you sure that you were never mortal?"

"Yes."

"Are you the devil?"

"No."

"Are you a physical being?"

"No."

"Are you a form of energy egoized?"

"Yes."

"Is your nature evil to man?"

"Yes."

"Are you a devil?"

"Yes."

"A devil, but not the Devil?"

"Yes."

At this point my paper was all used and I began to search for more in my pockets but finding none suddenly remembered having seen paper and letters in the table-drawer. Opening it, I took out first a bundle of letters tied with a ribbon. Thrusting these in my pocket I lifted the papers lying beneath and began to search for one that had not been used. As I was thus occupied I heard a scratching sound and looking up saw the hand moving toward the edge of the table and before I could seize it, it fell with a crash to the floor and flew into fragments.

I stood looking at it in a dazed sort of way, and as I looked I heard far away that strange moan, and the rushing sound came down the corridor, opening my door as it passed and breathing its strange, chill breath into the room and passing on, then back again, dying away in the moan.

As the sound died away, I seized my lantern and the paper upon which the

strange hand had written, and dashed out of the chamber, not stopping to breathe until I was safe in the tunnel and saw the timbers of the old college-hall above my head. Drawing my ladder out, I rolled the stone over the hole and drew the earth around it, and not until that hole was closed and the earth had been pressed in the smallest aperture did I breathe freely. This done, I hid the papers in my coat and taking up the ladder and the lantern was soon standing in the open air.

I felt as though the very foundation of things had been shaken. I had been taught to believe in a Devil, but higher education and the tincture of rationalistic philosophy which pervades the modern atmosphere had removed the personality of Satan, and as for his communicating with human beings, that savored of the legends of witches and wizards which we of the modern days ridicule as mere inventions of ignorant minds and active imaginations.

My dreams that night were wild and weird. I was again in the old chamber, and the strange wind came down the hallway, swept the oaken door back upon its hinges, and came rushing into the room, extinguishing my lantern and leaving me in utter darkness, while it swept away and down the hall with that strange, distant moan. Then that weird, expressionless face which the hand had drawn, appeared before me and the room was lighted by a strange, blue light, and in this unearthly glow the ebony hand relaxed its fingers and pointed toward the passageway. Numb with terror I turned toward the door and there were other faces—faces as devoid of human expression as the first, with great round, staring eyes that never turned and whose lids seemed never to close,—the awful, vacant eyes of a soulless being which could see and know, but never feel.

Impelled by some unseen power I moved to the door and down the passageway. I say moved, for I did not seem to walk but to float by a mere effort of will,

and yet I felt my will controlled by another infinitely superior in power. As I went down the passageway those awful faces turned and moved with me, and we swept on and on until the hallway opened into a vast chamber where shadowy forms were moving with a motion that had not in it the quick action of a human being, but was slow and measured like the motion of thought with never once a flutter of feeling, and the faces of all these were like the faces of my companions. The great chamber was silent except for a continuous rushing as of a mighty wind. Endless darkness extended upon either hand, and darkness, awful and impenetrable, loomed before us, while above us was a blackness deeper than the most starless night of earth. Far and near the strange forms were moving, each lighted by its glow of phosphorescent light, and at last it seemed to me that there was a purpose to their movements and that all were sweeping in one direction with a motion that was slow yet swift.

At last we came to a mighty amphitheater all builded of the blackest rock, and thousands upon thousands slowly seated themselves and fixed their staring, soulless eyes upon me while I was led to one end, where seated upon a mighty dais of ebony with a canopy of black and gold, were three beings of the same type as those of the multitude, but greater in stature and crowned with jet black crowns. I felt that I was to be analyzed by these awful beings, even as we have analyzed the stones of the hills and the pebbles of the streams. I felt that they could rend the human soul with never a change of feature of twinge of remorse—that they could wring from the human heart the wildest, deepest agony without a feeling of compassion; that the quivering of the human soul was to them a thing mysterious and inexplicable, and that sin and death were their tools, cold tools of steel, by means of which to cut and analyze humanity and find the cause of wild passion and deep despair; but yet I felt that those things must ever remain a mystery

to them, for they had never felt, had never joyed, had never sorrowed, and love and hate were things beyond the realm of their cold thoughts.

I sat beneath the gaze of those horrid, expressionless eyes for a few moments, and then one of the three who sat upon the dais of ebony arose and with a long black wand wrote in letters of cold blue fire on a great curtain of sable hue at the back of the dais, these words:

"From what thoughts do men form hate and love?"

Every face in the vast amphitheater turned from the writer to me. The rushing noise had now entirely ceased and from all that countless multitude there came no sound, and the dead silence and those awful staring eyes seemed to chill my very soul. The writer slowly extended his wand to me and pointed to the curtain, and I saw that I was to write and to answer that question, but although I mechanically grasped the wand my mind seemed paralyzed and utterly devoid of thought.

Suddenly there seemed to come to me in soft, sweet tones from a vast distance, these words:

"Love and hate are not formed of thoughts, they are from the soul," and I moved to the curtain and wrote them with the wand in letters of blue flame, and all that multitude of eyes were fixed upon the curtain for a moment and then turned to me, then slowly to the curtain again and then upon me, as the one who had questioned me extended his hand for the wand. Again it moved slowly across the great black curtain and these were the words that were written:

"We have thought upon man and we have analyzed man, and our deepest thoughts and most careful analysis have revealed no soul."

Again I was prompted by the sweet, far voice and wrote:

"Only through the soul can you know the soul."

Then he of the wand motioned to another who stood near and that other one

stepped behind the dais and returned with a great black cap which he of the wand took and drew over my head. For a moment I could see nothing, and then there came a faint glow of light and at last, far away, I saw one that I loved, and she was in the agonies of death. I stretched forth my hands and called to her, but she quivered and her eyes glazed and I fell to the earth and great sobs shook my frame. Suddenly the cap was removed and the awful expressionless eyes of that vast multitude gazed upon my sorrow, and wondered and gazed, without a shadow of sympathy, and the rushing sound began again. Then I was plunged into awful darkness and with a cry of terror awoke.

I was trembling from head to foot and was covered with a clammy sweat. With shaking hand I lit my lamp and sat with chattering teeth until the familiar scenes of the room had removed my terror; then lying down I slept a calm, peaceful, dreamless sleep and woke with the birds singing outside my window and the sun streaming across my bed.

The dream had been so vivid that I began to wonder if it were not possible that my whole adventure had been a dream. But no, there upon the table were the papers and letters which I had taken from the table-drawer in the old chamber. Leaping from the bed I began to glance over the papers. Among them was the one upon which the hand had written and upon it the features of that horrid face. I slipped this into my pocket and laid the remaining papers and the letters away in the drawer of my desk,

intending to examine them in the near future. After breakfast and a trip down town to attend to some business, I called to see Pierce, but was informed that he had suddenly departed for Colorado on the ten-forty train, giving as an excuse for his departure the effect of the hot weather upon his nerves. A few days later, having a little spare time, I decided to examine the letters and papers and try if possible to learn a little of the history of the inhabitant of the old chamber, but to my surprise they had disappeared, and although I searched in every conceivable place I could not find them nor have I seen them to this day, and all the proof I have of my visit to the place and the strange things which occurred there is the scrap of paper upon which the Hand wrote and upon which it drew that horrid face. I am sure that I placed the papers in the drawer, and I can only explain their disappearance by assuming that some one concerned in the secret of the old chamber heard of my trip to the place and searched my room for the papers, or that some unearthly power removed them.

This is all that can be known of the secret of the old tunnel, or rather of the chamber beneath it, for the floods of the following year filled the tunnel, and the plumbers who drained it have closed the entrance with a wall of stone, so that now no one may set foot in its dark, damp confines, and the flooded chamber will crumble and the history of the strange things hidden there will never be known.

CLERIN ZUMWALT.

Topeka, Kansas.



Drawn by Ryan Walker expressly for THE ARENA.

Mr. You-and-Me is a wonderful man. When he was a little child some one blindfolded him with Ignorance, and shackled him with Social Customs. As he grew up he was so afraid that some one would unchain him and open his eyes that he surrounded himself with a powerful bodyguard.

POLITICS, THE PEOPLE AND THE TRUSTS AS SEEN BY CARTOONISTS.



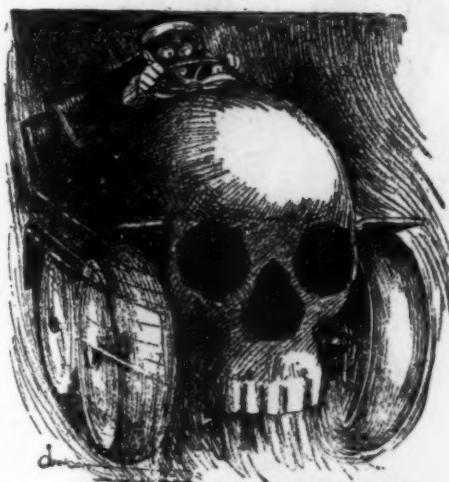
Bush, in New York World.

"SATISFIED."



Jack, in Glenwood (Col.) Post.

MONEY TALKS.



Johnson, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

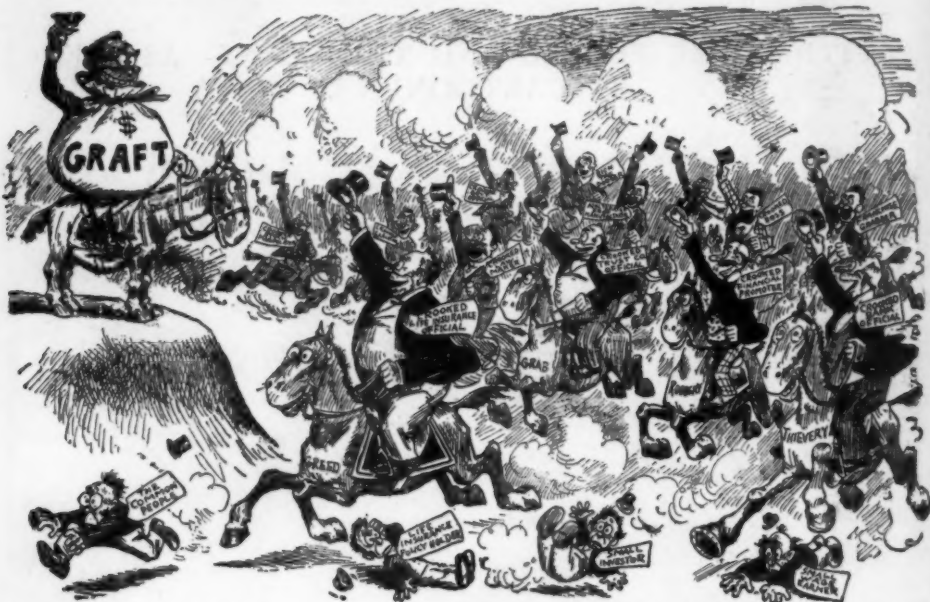
CAR OF DEATH AND THE MASKED DRIVER.



Oppen, in the New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

WHEN THE PEOPLE WAKE UP.

"The Beef Trust Will Get His All Right."



Oppen, in New York American.

(Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

"1905."

"VIVE L'EMPEREUR!"

(With acknowledgments to Meissonier.)



Oppen, in New York American. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

WHEN THE LID CAME OFF.

"Sing a song of robbery by men in places high,
Several hundred millions raked from a pie;
When the pie was opened the birds all took to wing,
Now are they not a pretty lot? (In the background note
Sing Sing.)"



Campbell, in Philadelphia North American.

FIRST CLIP AT SAMSON'S HAIR.

"And Samson's strength went from him."



Walker, in Puget Sound (Bellingham, Wash.) American.

WHAT HAPPENED WHEN MR. YOU-N-ME FAILED TO BECOME A CAPTAIN OF INDUSTRY.

No. 1—A few years ago we honored the Captain of Industry and pointed him out to our son as an example to imitate.

No. 2—Now we point him out as a shining example to swat good and plenty.



Drawn by Ryan Walker.

"EVEN THE WORM WILL TURN."



Chopin, in Lebanon (Pa.) Evening Report.

ONE FOR THE YELLOW MAN.

"Secretary Taft argues that there should not be a too rigid enforcement of the exclusion act."—News Item.



Rogers, in New York Herald.

"RIP VAN" WILSON.



Warren, in Boston Herald.

"WHAT WILL THE ARMY DO?"

302 *Politics, The People and The Trusts as Seen by Cartoonists.*



Sullivan, in *New York American*. (Reproduced by special permission of W. R. Hearst.)

"THE MAN OF THE HOUR."



Batterfield, in Lebanon (Pa.) *Evening Report*.

IN POLAND.

"The Comacks are a brave and fearless band of men."



Campbell, in *Philadelphia North American*.

PENROSE—"WAIT! I CAN EXPLAIN!"

"Senator Penrose is having prepared an answer to the accumulating evidence of assessment frauds."—*News Item*.



Spencer, in *Omaha World-Herald*.

"WITH FEET OF CLAY."

EDITORIALS.

MR. LAWSON'S CRUSADE: ITS STRENGTH AND ITS WEAKNESS.

I. EXPERT DIAGNOSTICIAN OF MORAL TUBERCULOSIS IN PRESENT-DAY FINANCIAL LIFE.

THE REVELATIONS made by Mr. Lawson during the past year have wrought a great and needed work in arousing millions of American citizens from the moral torpor and intellectual indifference into which the corporation-controlled press and the great political managers and bosses had lulled them. It would not be true to say that the startling disclosures are essentially new, for far greater and more profound thinkers than Mr. Lawson among our statesmen, economists and educators have time and again solemnly pointed out the evils which he has so graphically and circumstantially described. The earlier critics, however, were met by the sneering epithet of "alarmists" by those who were in a position to know the truth of the charges and the ominous verity of the grave predictions made, but who from sordid motives of self-interest or because they were employes of those interested in the "system" in some of its ramifications, found it convenient to belittle the statesmen's profound utterances and ridicule their solemn warnings. The favorite and most effective method of dismissing charges made by such incorruptible statesmen as the Hon. Robert M. Baker, Governor La-Follette or Mr. Bryan was to say that they were theorists who reasoned from hearsay without knowing the facts involved. We were told that they might be honest, but they were not personally connected with the great corporations and high financiers of Wall street; hence their views must be considered as academic rather than as the revelations of those actually familiar with the subjects about which they preferred their charges. The circumstance that in each instance the statesmen were well fortified with facts and that they were prepared to prove the charges counted for little when the daily press with strange unanimity advanced this superficially plausible reason for discounting the charges.

When Mr. Lawson, however, entered the public arena as an exposé of the "system"

and the methods known as "high finance," it was no longer possible to dismiss the accusations on the ground that the writer was ignorant of the subject he discussed; for here was a man who for years had been the most intimate business associate and partner of the chief figure in the most powerful and immoral of the great typical monopolies and speculative bodies of the Wall-street world; here was a man who had amassed millions in stock-dealing and who was intimately acquainted with the inside history of the great gambling deals by which a few men had acquired tens and hundreds of millions of dollars. He was therefore in a position to give an absolutely faithful record of the infamy that flourished under the robes of respectability in America's Monte Carlo; so his unmasking in a most detailed and circumstantial manner of the moral turpitude, mendacity and corruption of the great Wall-street rings, the banks, the insurance companies and the speculative monopolies that were so juggling with the people's money as to acquire absolute political, economic and commercial mastery of the people, was confirmation from the star chamber of the modern world of "high finance" of all that the incorruptible patriots and statesmen had previously charged.

That the cormorants of Wall street realized the potential danger of the revelations was instantly apparent from the simultaneous attacks upon Mr. Lawson and the significant uniformity of the same. It was impossible to weaken the force of his charges by declaring that he was ignorant of the facts; hence he was charged with turning state's evidence. He was himself, we were told, merely a stock-gambler, and his sincerity and veracity were on all sides called into question, while the powerful influence of the Standard Oil Company and allied interests was set in motion to accomplish by threats what the interested parties dared not attempt to achieve by open warfare. Thus the attorneys of Mr. H. H. Rogers called on the publishers of *Everybody's Magazine*, where the Lawson exposures were being made, and declared that if they published any libelous statements or utterances that

could not be substantiated, they would be sued for criminal libel. Such a threat, coming from the attorneys of a master-spirit in the richest corporation in the world, was well-calculated to intimidate both the publishers and Mr. Lawson. A poor man would have been powerless, because he could not have successfully fought this organization, no matter how just or truthful his charges might have been. But happily for America, Mr. Lawson had wealth and the courage to stand by his guns.

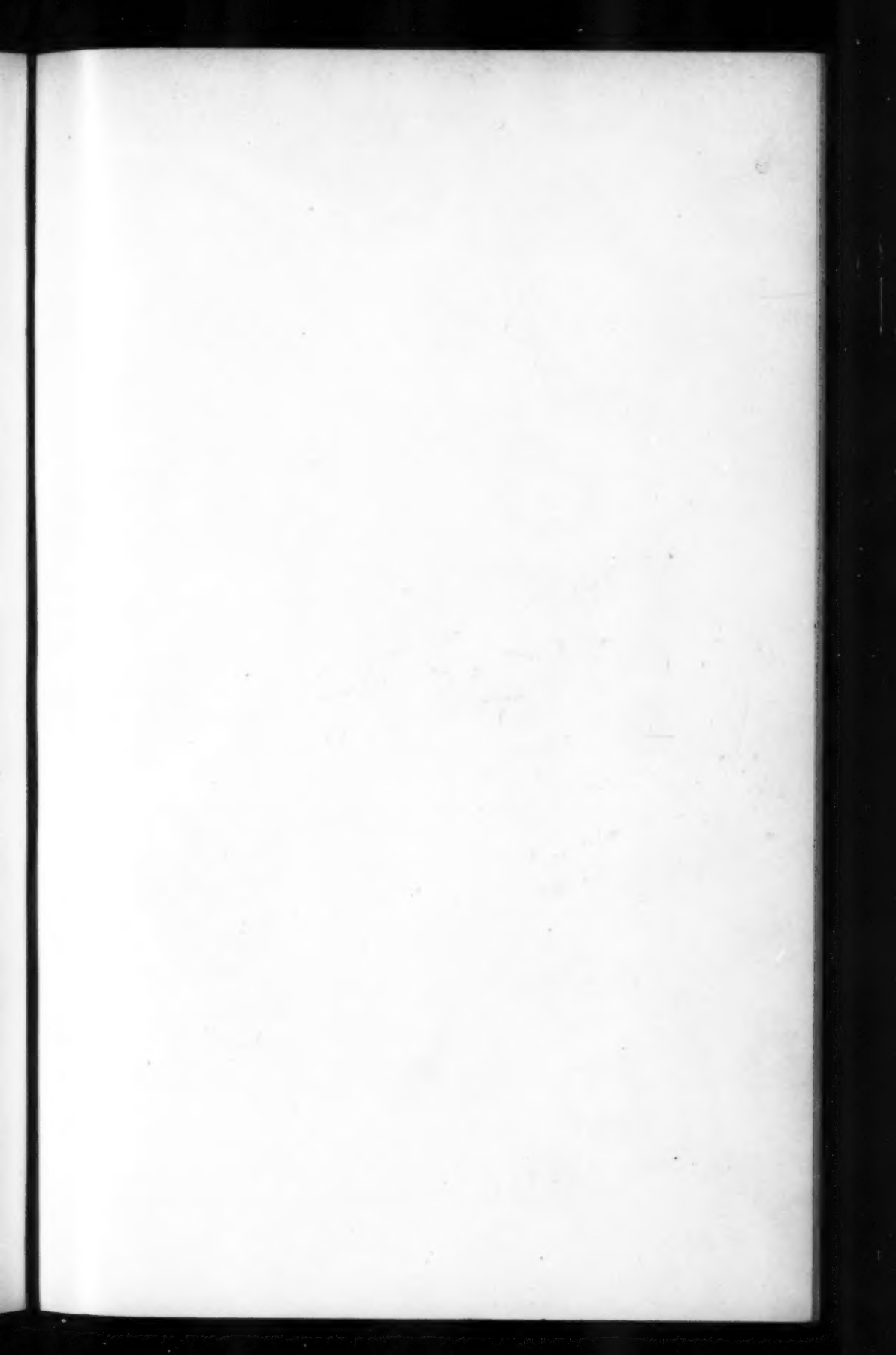
Failing in this method of intimidation, an equally bold attempt was made by the "system" to intimidate the American News Company to such an extent that it would not send out the January *Everybody's Magazine*. Happily the warning came after the magazines had been shipped, so no delay even was occasioned, and the knowledge of the attempt caused hundreds of thousands of extra copies to be sold; while the threat made by the attorneys of Mr. Rogers to prosecute if Mr. Lawson departed from the truth in his revelations, and the fact that for over a year the "high financiers" of Wall street have writhed under his merciless exposures and have not dared to enter suit for libel, have convinced the people as few other things could have convinced them, that Mr. Lawson has merely told a plain, unvarnished tale of the moral depravity of the great speculative magnates and of the insurance companies and certain banking institutions that are a part of the corrupt "system." The revelations of the moral turpitude and wholesale dishonesty in connection with the Equitable Assurance Company have not only served to confirm Mr. Lawson's charges in regard to the insurance companies, but have also revealed depths of infamy to which men in high places in commercial, financial and political life have descended that, but for the unimpeachable character of the testimony elicited, would have been considered incredible. Every recent revelation of the methods of the Wall-street stock-gamblers and "high financiers" of America has served to show that Mr. Lawson is an expert diagnostician and that his tale is simply the history of a condition as fatal to pure government and national integrity as it is oppressive and unjust in its operations on America's millions of producers and consumers—a condition which enables a few men to acquire millions upon millions of unearned money and with it to corrupt until they con-

trol the machinery of city, state and national government, to such a degree that they are practically above the law. It is impossible to estimate the value of such a revelation as has been made by Mr. Lawson. If the republic is rescued from the reactionary rule of the money-controlled machines operated by conscienceless corporate wealth, Mr. Lawson will have been a prominent factor in this splendid result. Hence it is far from us to desire to minify the service rendered by him in his authoritative exposure of the moral degradation of the powerful "system."

II. MR. LAWSON'S MISTAKE.

It is a fact that has been frequently pointed out in the medical world, that the most eminent and accurate diagnosticians are often poor prescribers. Their attention has been centered on pathological conditions rather than on the action of therapeutic agents, and they are therefore far less happy or certain in the remedies prescribed than are those physicians who have spent long years in practicing the healing art. So with Mr. Lawson: valuable and necessary as are his services as an expert diagnostician, he is singularly superficial and unfortunate in his recommendations, or rather in his attempt to discredit methods of cure that in a republic are necessarily the fundamental remedies for practical application when orderly progress is to mark the unfoldment of free institutions. We refer especially to his effort to belittle the ballot-box as an agent for the overthrow of present unjust and corrupt conditions that have been rendered possible by political privileges and protection.

Nothing is clearer than that the present gigantic "system" which Mr. Lawson has so graphically described could not have grown to such overshadowing proportions and remained the most sinister and portentous influence in the republic, had it not been for political privilege and protection. The union of the arch-conspirators in the acquisition of wealth by indirection with political bosses and recreant statesmen has been at once the scandal and the chief producing element in the widespread political degradation that prevails to-day. Indeed, the intimate relation between the protected and the protectors, and the dominating influence of the corrupt "system" in political crises, have been impressively portrayed by Mr. Lawson himself. In no instance was this more startlingly emphasized than in his circumstantial and vivid descrip-





AGNES VALENTINE KELLEY, M.D.

tion of the defeat of Mr. Bryan through a five-million-dollar corruption fund. The readers of Mr. Lawson's history will call to mind his description of how Mr. Hanna, after a careful poll of the states, found out to his alarm that the majority of voters in five states, all necessary to the success of Mr. McKinley, were in favor of Mr. Bryan. In his extremity he turned to the "high financiers" and master-spirits in the "system," and the whole brood of acquirers of unearned wealth at the expense of industry, in their alarm lest they should lose some part of their hold on the government, raised five million dollars by which the dominant party was enabled to elect Mr. McKinley.

Does Mr. Lawson suppose for one instant that the corruption that has so long been festering in the Equitable Assurance Company, and which not improbably permeates the other great insurance companies that dominate the politics of New York, would have been possible had it not been for the influence of the insurance system in politics, or that the general demand on Governor Higgins for a searching legislative investigation of the three great companies, in the interests of the millions of policy holders whose money is being used by the "high financiers" to exploit the people and enrich themselves, would have been so long resolutely denied if it were not for the tremendous power of these companies over Governor Higgins and other master-spirits in the dominant party? Does Mr. Lawson suppose that corporations and companies like the Equitable would carry on their pay-roll leading politicians of both parties if it were not for the influence which the political bosses and leaders are able to exert for the shrewd and unscrupulous "high financiers" that are using the policy-holders' money to gamble with?

Now the whole present piratical financial and commercial feudalism—the "system" if you will—depends on privilege and protection from politicians, lawmakers and law-enforcers; and these great aggregations of wealth, including the public-service companies and trusts, are the chief makers and unmakers as well as corruptors of the people's servants. Acting through political bosses and machines and with the liberal bribe of campaign contributions and secret individual bribes and deals, they have become the great power behind the throne, the real masters and rulers in city, state and nation; and this being the case, to try to convince the people that the

ballot-box is no remedy for the politico-economic injustice and oppression of the present is to counsel the people against the interests at once of peace with progress and justice and the effective emancipation of the masses from the double thralldom of commercial despotism and robbery and a disintegrating political reaction, chiefly characterized by corruption and subserviency to class interests and corporate wealth.

The gravest peril that republics have to guard against is the indifference of the electors to the priceless privilege of their vote and the solemn duty to exercise their right of franchise conscientiously and as becomes free and honorable men. Whenever privilege or class interests succeed in corrupting the electors or in capturing the master-spirits in political organizations, so that they can dictate the nominations of their own tools, and later, through corrupt practices and a lavish use of wealth, mislead or influence the voters against the highest interests of the commonwealth, then the republic is in the gravest danger, and the hope of its restoration lies in the awakening of the sleeping conscience of the people to the peril of the situation and to the duty of all electors to unite and work with the enthusiasm of lofty patriotism for the restoration of the government to the people, the driving of the money-changers and the unfaithful public-servants from the temple of freedom, and the exaltation again of a noble idealism to the high place from which the base and sordid spirit of materialistic commercialism had driven it. If this is not done, the republic ceases to be a government of the people and becomes a degraded state in which the people are the vassals of corrupt wealth or privileged classes, oppressed, exploited and debauched for the enrichment and power of their corruptors and masters,—a despotism in all but name.

In a republic the people have in the ballot-box their sure and certain remedy whenever they become sufficiently awakened to the peril to unite and act as they have heretofore acted time and again in supreme crises. The ballot-box is not only the redeemer, but it is the only weapon by which political and economic injustice and corruption can be overthrown without the shock of force. With it peace can be maintained, justice vindicated and the republic again made the master moral force or world-power and the supreme conservator of free institutions. Without it there is no sure

remedy for injustice, oppression and corruption but a forcible revolution, which all high-minded men and women rightly shrink from with dread and abhorrence. Now from the Atlantic to the Pacific the people are becoming awakened—morally awakened—as they have not been aroused since the days of the great Revolution. Now they are everywhere preparing to unite and vindicate the high dream and prophecy of the fathers. Everywhere the more earnest and high-minded of all parties are reasoning together and are coming to recognize the importance of uniting irrespective of party creeds, for the restoration of a pure democracy and the overthrow of corrupt corporate despotism and the boss and the machine. Everywhere the people are demanding the right to pass on legislation and to initiate legislation when the majority desires new measures; and everywhere the corruptors and the corrupted are striving to stay the rising tide of true democracy.

The fear—the one great fear—of the corrupt “system” and its hirelings in the political machines and the public opinion-forming agencies, is that the people will unite at the ballot-box and vindicate the rights of free government; and for a man who has the ear and confidence of hundreds of thousands of the people to counsel them against uniting and using the one weapon in their hands that would end at once and effectively the reign of graft and corruption, of exploitation and oppression, is for him to do precisely what every master-spirit in the “system” most desires the opposition leaders to do. Do not understand us as implying that Mr. Lawson is intentionally playing into the hands of the “system” or that he is consciously striking a blow against the only effective action that will rescue the republic and lead to victory without the employment of force; for we believe that he is entirely sincere in his opposition to the “system” and in his convictions. To what extent personal bitterness against the men who had wronged him and betrayed his confidence may have entered as a determining factor into Mr. Lawson’s original resolution to expose the corruption of the Wall-street parasite class, we cannot say; but since the people have rallied around him, placing their faith and confidence in his high motives and disinterestedness, we believe he has come to have but one great passion,—or at least we believe the master-passion of the man has come to be a desire to vindicate the faith the people have placed in

him and to destroy the sinister power of the “system” that is so rapidly strangling the soul of free institutions, and for this reason we are doubly pained to see him doing precisely what every political boss who is being enriched by the “system,” or other privileged interests, most desires to have him do—counsel against union at the ballot-box. Mr. Lawson’s advice is not the counsel of a statesman or of a profound student of democratic institutions. He may believe that the ballot-box alone is not the remedy, but to minify the importance of the franchise or to assume that the republic can be redeemed from the spoilers and placed where it was before it became the bond-slave of privileged wealth, without the exercise of the franchise, is to display a very partial or limited appreciation of the basic issues involved. And any remedy that under existing conditions leaves out of consideration the franchise of the people in its effort to cure the crying and crowning evils, must necessarily prove but partial and inadequate rather than thorough and fundamental in character.

Again, in his sneer at popular ownership of public utilities Mr. Lawson betrays the man who has studied one phase of an evil condition at the expense of the well-rounded view of the true statesman. Nothing further is needed to prove the absurdity and inaccuracy of his claim that the “system” desires public ownership, than that every influence controlled by the “system,” every great paper, every special-pleader, every corrupt machine-boss and political leader, is the sworn enemy of public ownership. The Ryans, the Dolans, the Belmonts, the Weideners, the Cassatts, the Depews, the Rogerses, the Coxes, the Butlers, the Odells, the Murphys, the Durhams, the Gormans, the Penroses, the Addickses, the Spooners,—in a word, the whole community of interests against which Mr. Lawson is warring directly or indirectly, consciously or unconsciously, are the outspoken and uncompromising enemies of public ownership, and for the very palpable reason that private ownership is one of the chief sources of revenue, power or advancement. Through private ownership of public utilities the Ryans, the Dolans and their ilk are acquiring yearly millions upon millions of dollars that otherwise would go toward reducing the prices of public utilities and lowering taxes. Then again, the political machines and bosses find in the private owners of public utilities the financial backbone that renders their continued

rule and betrayal of the people well-nigh invincible. It is astonishing to see a man of Mr. Lawson's intelligence, discrimination and sincerity taking such a palpably absurd position as he is taking when he assumes that the exploiters of the people, against which the brain and conscience of the nation are in revolt, are favorable to public ownership.

Thus it seems to us that though as a diag-

nostician of conditions with which he is absolutely familiar Mr. Lawson has proved himself an expert, in seeking to make the people regard the ballot-box as immaterial to any fundamental or permanent victory, and in other respects when he comes to deal with remedies, he has proved himself wanting in the broad, well-rounded vision of the true statesman.

CENTERS OF LIGHT AND LEADING.

I. THE DUTY OF THE HOUR.

THE PRESENT makes stern demands upon the children of democracy. Grave dangers confront free institutions. The cause of justice and those great fundamentals upon the preservation of which a true democracy depends are in greater peril than at any period since the Civil war, if indeed the threatened evils are not the gravest that have confronted the nation since her birth. Each individual has a duty to perform. It is idle to say that your influence is too insignificant to the cause of human progress to affect results in an appreciable way. Frequently, very frequently, the earnest word and the persistent teachings of those who seem humblest have changed the lives of the destiny-builders of the ages. Socrates was a humble teacher in Athens, derided by the rich, sneered at by the Sophists. One day a youth, richly dowered by nature, who had decided to follow the soldier's calling, was arrested by some chance words spoken by Socrates. His interest aroused, he questioned the master day by day until at last the great teacher convinced him that there was something far nobler than the profession of arms, and as a result the world has been enriched by the matchless wealth of Plato's brain.

But whether small or great, every man and woman is confronted by a sacred duty. No one can be quit of the obligation, and he is recreant to his solemn trust who seeks unworthily to evade the responsibility by the plea that his influence is of little avail. The robe of civilization is spangled by the glories achieved by those born in obscurity and who through lives of consecration to the faithful performance of the work that lay nearest them have nerved the hands, fired the hearts and illumined the brains of those who have mould-

ed the fate of nations and raised the estate of the millions. So it is a duty, a paramount duty, in the present crisis to resolve to do one's utmost for the cause of enlightened and progressive government, for civic righteousness and individual development. But while alone and single-handed one may accomplish much, in association he becomes doubly effective. The world's advance movements have most frequently been carried to the point where the sleeping conscience of church and state has been compelled to take part and make invincible the new reform or advance movement, through the labor of small groups of workers, often apparently insignificant factors in society.

If in every city precinct, every town and hamlet, small centers could be formed in which four, six, eight or ten earnest men and women would covenant to work for mutual benefit—for the better equipping of themselves for the duties of enlightened citizenship and for the purpose of lending their united support to measures proposed for the advancement of civic righteousness and the uplifting of popular ideals, not only would the nation receive a mighty moral and mental upward impulse but the triumph of good government and the cause of justice and democracy would be assured. Few things to-day are more imperatively demanded than such moral and intellectual centers of light and leading.

II. A TYPICAL CENTER.

Early in 1892 one of New Orleans' most brilliant and intellectual women, Mrs. J. M. Ferguson, a grand-niece of Patrick Henry and a daughter of Colonel William H. Garland, conceived the idea of forming a small club of earnest, truth-loving people for the broadening of the culture of the members, thus better preparing them intelligently to fulfil the mul-

titudinous duties of present-day life, and also for the purpose of increasing their influence in civic affairs by the power that results from association.

Mrs. Ferguson's ancestors on both sides were members of those high-minded Virginia families that, placing character, honor and civic rectitude above all baser considerations, strove through education of brain and culture of heart to nobly fulfil the high demands imposed by a free state upon her children. Dowered with that lofty idealism which is the well-spring of all true progress and strong in moral fiber, Mrs. Ferguson has ever exerted a positive influence for high thinking and fine living. She early became an enthusiastic member of our great ARENA family, feeling that its influence made for breadth of intellectual vision, independent thinking and moral integrity; and partly because of her regard for THE ARENA and partly because it was determined that the club should be an intellectual arena for the thoughtful presentation of widely-differing social, economic, political, ethical and educational views, the organization was christened "THE ARENA CLUB OF NEW ORLEANS."

It was proposed that at the regular meetings of the club a designated member should present an outline of some great social, economic, political or other important theory or philosophy, reading an exposition made by the author of the theory in question or by some master-spirit among its exponents. Thus, for example, we will say that the subject of the Single-Tax was designated for consideration at a certain meeting. A member would present a digest of Mr. George's views as given by the great social philosopher in his own words, and after its presentation the subject would be briefly discussed by members. By this admirable plan the cardinal points in an important subject were brought out, while the remarks and criticisms following tended to touch upon the various objections advanced by critics, and the person who had given the reading would be prepared, through careful previous study, to state how the advocates met many if not all of these objections.

The club was emphatically a truth-seeking body of persons not afraid to think and with strong convictions, but not wedded to any particular "ism." They sought to broaden their culture by the frank searching for truth.

A second purpose of this association was to secure vital messages or lectures and papers from recognized authorities among educators,

publicists and authoritative thinkers whose love of truth and holy passion for imparting knowledge would lead them to consent to discuss certain themes with which they were familiar under the auspices of the club, and in this way the members and their friends, and on occasions the public at large, would have the benefit of the well-matured thoughts and conclusions of eminent thinkers. At that time several of the strong and brilliant contributors of THE ARENA staff were freely giving their services in cities which they chanced to visit or which they were passing through, in speaking for the Unions for Practical Progress and other literary and social centers organized at the suggestion of this magazine; and it was rightly believed that several of these workers, as well as other public-spirited thinkers who from time passed through New Orleans, would favor the club with lectures or papers. Something of the service rendered by this phase of the work of The Arena Club may be inferred from the following partial list of lectures and papers delivered before the club and its guests by eminent and authoritative thinkers. The first four names were prominent contributors to THE ARENA.

"The Single-Tax," by James A. Herne, the popular actor and author of "Shore Acres," "Sag Harbor" and other well-known dramas of American life.

"The Ethical View of the Single-Tax," by Hamlin Garland.

"Union for Practical Progress," by Rev. H. C. Vrooman, of Boston.

"Author's Reading from Her Stories," by Will Allen Dromgoole.

"The Drama," by Joseph Jefferson.

"Shakespeare," by Frederick Warde, the tragedian.

"The Single-Tax: Fiscal Point-of-View," by Professor J. H. Dillard, of Tulane University, New Orleans.

"The Dignity of Labor," by Mrs. M. R. Field (Catherine Cole), of the *Times-Democrat*.

"The Parliament of Religions," by Dr. Joseph Holt.

"Shakespeare Studies," by Mrs. Annie L. Pitkin. Four different lectures—"Othello," "Macbeth," "Lear" and "Hamlet."

"The Law and the Lady: The Legal Status of Woman in Louisiana," by Judge J. H. Ferguson, of the Criminal Court of New Orleans.

"Why, How and What to Read," by Rev.

B. Warner, of Trinity (Episcopal) Church of New Orleans.

"Mazzini," by Professor J. H. Dillard.

"Hereditry," an illustrated lecture by Dr. Mary A. G. Dight.

"Talk on Japan," by Miss Georgiana Suthon, missionary.

"Hegelian Philosophy," by President B. V. B. Dixon, of Sophie Newcomb College (for girls) of New Orleans.

"The Social Balance," by Bishop (Episcopal) Davis Seassums, of Louisiana.

"An Informal Talk on New Zealand," by the ex-mayor of Wellington and a native of New Zealand.

If the club had done nothing more than secure such a course of lectures, it would have accomplished an important educational work for the community; but this contribution to the real culture of the people was only one of its many achievements. Among other public services was the holding of one of the most important mass-meetings of recent years to protest against trust domination. At this meeting among the speakers were the Rev. Hugh Miller Thompson, Episcopal Bishop of Mississippi; Rev. Dr. Palmer, the Presbyterian divine; Mr. Ashton Phelps, of the *Times-Democrat*; and Judge Clegg, of the New Orleans bar.

Still more important was the successful labor of The Arena Club in its campaign for the raising of the legal age of protection for girls in Louisiana to sixteen years. The enactment of this statute (Act 115) in 1896 was directly due to the work of The Arena Club, and no labor has been achieved in recent years by any individual or association more important to civic morality than the securing of this statute.

The club has also taken a positive position on many occasions when vital issues were at stake. Quite recently it has been doing a noble work in fighting the frightful conditions that, largely through the recreancy of officials, are resulting in the traffic in girls and other horrible forms of immorality.

During the war with Spain The Arena Club contributed to the First Regiment of Louisiana a large tent for the comfort of the soldiers, to be used as a reading-room, a place of rest and an auditorium for preaching. It also contributed a large box of reading-matter, stationery, chess and other games. It has contributed financially to the woman's rescue

work of the Salvation Army, to the support of the Garland-Ferguson Library of Long Beach, Mississippi, and to many other important works for the furtherance of education and the elevation of the ideals and morals of the people.

A third object of The Arena Club was to add through association to individual efficiency for civil progress and upliftment. Each individual has his sphere of influence, but in an association or group he becomes doubly influential. In the first place a body of thoughtful, earnest and sincere persons always commands a degree of respect and exerts a measure of influence far greater than the individual could exert on the public mind. In the second place, by association a number of persons act as a unit and strike for the same object at the same moment. Here is a person who can influence a half a dozen friends, and she knows that other members of her society or club are likewise influencing others. What is the result? She is doubly armed, for she feels the strength and presence of her associates. Here is a person who has access to the columns of one of the great dailies, and here is another who as representative of the club can gain a hearing before another powerful constituency. Here is one who can reach a certain influential clergyman and induce him to raise his voice in behalf of civic righteousness or against some crying evil in a crucial moment, and here is another who has an equal influence over some great educator or public-speaker who will address a mass-meeting; and here the entire band also stands ready to circulate petitions and influence many of their friends to do the same. Any thoughtful person can readily understand what a tremendous influence a small band of sincere workers, touched by the fires from the altars of progress, can exercise in any community when its members are ready to consecrate a part of life's efforts to the broadening of their own culture and the cause of civic progress. Now in a very large way The Arena Club of New Orleans has achieved all of these noble objects. Time and again, when great burning questions have been up which affected the morality of the city or the cause of human justice, The Arena Club has through the *Times-Democrat* and the *Picayune* sent forth ringing messages, and it has on many occasions been largely instrumental in creating public sentiment in favor of some great cause or in forcing the public to take cognizance of some crying evil, so that mass-meetings and campaigns of

education have resulted in civic upliftment.

The work of The Arena Club has been widely and favorably commented upon by leading papers in many cities as well as generously recognized by the great dailies of New Orleans. The following extract from an article by Catherine Cole, one of the most brilliant journalists of New Orleans, which appeared in the *Times-Democrat*, the most influential daily of the Gulf States, is typical of the sentiments expressed time and again by the different New Orleans dailies:

"I recall with pride the brilliant and progressive career of our now justly famous Arena Club. The Arena Club had its beginning some years since in the dainty drawing-room of one of the most powerful-minded women this town can boast, whose graces of mind and heart have gathered about her coteries of purely and thoroughly intellectual people—men and women who put Vanity Fair to blush through their earnestness and honesty and the value of their accomplishments. Many most distinguished speakers have had the honor of addressing this club, which has become a distinct educational force in New Orleans and whose doings have inspired other clubs to the same enterprises. The Arena Club has accomplished one beautiful work inasmuch as it has taught many women how to think for themselves. That is a rare gift—that of doing one's own thinking—almost as uncommon as common sense."

The practical service of this little club's work during the past twelve or fourteen years is, we imagine, little realized even by its distinguished president, Mrs. Ferguson; but to one who has followed its work with profound interest during this period the record of its achievements alone forms a glorious page, while the hidden springs of life which it has started flowing, the mental and moral light it has radiated and the benefit to its own members in broadening their intellectual vision and deepening their concern for humanity's weal cannot be measured in time.

We have cited this case at length because it is a palpable illustration of what can be accomplished in every city, town, hamlet and community if six or eight persons will unite, imbued by a passion for truth, a love of civic righteousness and that breadth and tolerance of spirit that will freely grant to others the same right of opinion desired for one's self, and sufficiently impressed with the demands

of the present to be willing to devote a little time and energy to the cause of human enlightenment.

III. LET CENTERS BE STARTED EVERYWHERE.

We believe the time has arrived for the forming of little centers everywhere. They will prove beacon-lights and signal-stations to the hosts of democracy and the champions of pure government and free institutions everywhere, and they can be made centers or rallying-points from which the people can act for civic righteousness in important crises when (as in the recent attempted gas-steal in Philadelphia) privileged interests and the corruptors of the people's servants attempt to further rob the masses and debase the representatives of the electors. If the readers of *THE ARENA* who recognize the grave duties and responsibilities of the present will organize into small groups or clubs for systematic work along lines similar to those laid down by The Arena Club of New Orleans, in less than a year we shall have a chain of centers extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific which will exert a nation-wide influence for the basic principles of democracy and pure government and which will insure that general awakening of the public conscience that will render the downfall of reactionary, unrepudiated and privileged rule inevitable.

Such organizations should have a few settled rules, and though they should be governed largely by the circumstances of their environment, certain things should be practically uniform.

1. Meetings should be held either weekly or twice a month.
2. The members of the organization should pledge themselves to attend and to faithfully strive to do their part.
3. Small dues should be paid, sufficient to cover the actual expense of the meetings, which, if held in school-buildings, churches or halls, should be comparatively slight.
4. The secretary of each club should agree to answer letters from other secretaries and in so far as possible the secretaries of the clubs throughout each state should correspond once a month with each other.
5. Papers should be prepared, as was done by The Arena Club, for each meeting, and a brief paper should be prepared by some member noting the most important civic, political, social and economic advance movements of the land and of the world during the

month. Friendly discussions should follow.

6. As the most pressing need of the hour is the wresting of the government by the people from the rule of corrupt party-machines acting in concert with privileged interests, we would suggest that each club be made a working-center for direct-legislation. Let that be a rallying issue, because upon the success of direct-legislation depends the salvation of democracy from the reactionary mastership of corporate wealth or plutocracy and class-rule, and with direct-legislation the people can settle all questions and secure for themselves precisely what they hold to be most indispensable for the public weal. No friend of pure democracy or free institutions can consistently oppose majority-rule, and with this one common issue all the clubs will be bound together and inspired by a community of interests—a vital point in a movement of this kind.

Beyond this let discussions be wide and varying as the club desires. Let political, social, economic, educational and ethical questions be considered, but let the club insist, as one of its working-rules, upon the recognition of the right of every member to the same tolerance for his views as the others claim for theirs. Hold to this idea, and breadth of

thought and true culture will come to the workers. They will become popular educators in a very real way, while their union will greatly add to the vital civic growth of the land.

THE ARENA stands ready to actively second and aid such clubs and when a sufficient number are formed will publish a directory in each issue giving the names of the principal officers and the addresses. It will also publish brief news-notes of the movement in various centers, so that a common bond may be established and all clubs can be kept in sympathetic touch.

We urge the establishment of such centers of light and leading at once, for we know how helpful they will prove to all the members in broadening the culture, quickening the sense of moral and civic duty and raising the ideal of life and action; and we also believe they will prove powerful factors in the great forward movement now assuming commanding proportions which will eventuate in the restoration of the government to the people and in the establishment of equality of opportunities and of rights for all the people.

We solicit correspondence from all members of THE ARENA family on this subject and shall be pleased to give suggestive topics and programmes to those desiring help in the establishment of clubs.

THE SCHOOL-CITY MOVEMENT AS A FACTOR IN CIVIC DEVELOPMENT.

IN THE May issue of THE ARENA we published an extended description of the School City, organized by Mr. Wilson L. Gill, —something which we believe to be the most important contribution of the New World to the educational advance of self-governing lands and unquestionably the most vital advance step in practical popular education since the advent of free schools. The fact that a movement so fundamental in character and which without interfering with the regular school curriculum introduces new and important elements into school management, and fosters self-government and the higher educational activities is receiving the sympathetic and favorable consideration of the most thoughtful and progressive educators wherever it is presented, affords strong proof that the night-time of moral and intellectual inertia is rapidly giving place to another of those peri-

odical ethical awakenings that revive and rejuvenate nations and carry civilization to higher vantage-grounds. Wherever the School City has been introduced by intelligent and sympathetic educators alive to its immense potential value, it has proved a positive success, in most instances far exceeding the sanguine expectations of its friends; and when the system has been explained to practical educators and thought-moulders who are awake to the importance of public education and who also realize the painful limitations of our present system, especially in its failure to turn out young men and women habituated to the practical exercise of the functions of free citizenship, the School City has called forth enthusiastic and hearty support. The following words on the subject, given by the Rev. Charles Wood of the Second Presbyterian Church of Philadelphia at a banquet

given by the Franklin Institute, afford a fair example of the way in which the new movement appeals to the more scholarly and thoughtful of our people:

"The School City is the boldest, the strongest, the simplest attempt yet made to solve the municipal problem. Thus far the American theory has been that the American citizen inherits with citizenship all the knowledge necessary for the performance of his duties. Without any instruction or practice, he is expected at twenty-one years to exercise properly the prerogatives of a sovereign. . . . To play our national game we should consider years of training necessary, but to enter on all the privileges of a ruler in the republic nothing is demanded but a proper spirit of subservience to a party, which, translated, means a boss.

"The School City attempts to clear up all this, not by the slaughter of bosses or the disintegration of parties, but by the education of the citizen. The whole effort is in line with a great movement by which the seat of authority has been slowly shifted in the state from the monarch to the people, and in the church from an ecclesiastical hierarchy to a book, and from a book to the individual soul. Westward the course of empire takes its way, but the course of authority takes its way inward to reason and conscience. Spontaneous activity replaces compulsory obedience. The Golden Rule on which it is founded is accepted as the best of precepts, and the only reasonable and practical rule of life for civilized human beings."

It is not surprising that the movement appeals with compelling force to the best minds of our age when its merits and practicability are shown. To use the words of the organizing committee of the National School-City League, it affords a "system of moral and civic training by means of self-government under instruction," and wherever it has been sympathetically and intelligently introduced it has accomplished "excellent results in the moral and educational development of the students" and has released "for constructive work much of the teacher's energy formerly used in police duty."

If this system afforded no other advantage than the stimulating of a sense of moral responsibility and duty in the child, thus adding greatly to the development of his character and also teaching the young to think for them-

selves and to reason rather than to blindly obey the commands of others, it would be worthy of the favorable consideration of all popular educators. But in addition to these things it gives to the children of the republic that which good men and women everywhere recognize as the most imperative need of the nation to-day—minds trained from early years to practice the duties of citizenship in a free state. It habituates the child to be a self-governing factor and impresses in the most effective possible manner the sacred duty devolving upon every sovereign voter in a democracy. Children who are thus instructed will not go forth indifferent to the grave duties of citizenship, on the one hand, nor will they fall the easy prey of bosses. In other words, they will be independent, alert citizens, impressed with the moral responsibilities imposed upon them.

The results that have followed the introduction of this movement have demonstrated that it is as practical as it is democratic. Whenever it has been intelligently and sympathetically introduced it has proved so successful that its employment has rapidly extended. Thus, for example, Mr. Gill organized the system in 1897 and brought it before the most successful educators of the Quaker City. It was tentatively and experimentally tried and proved so positively satisfactory that to-day it is in active operation in over thirty schools in Philadelphia. Mr. Gill came to New England during the past winter, where his presentation of the plan of the School City before educational and other bodies has resulted in a general and rapidly growing interest in the movement. One of the fruits of this visit is seen in the arrangement that has been perfected by which Mr. Gill is to be present at the installation of the School City in one of the districts of Lowell, Massachusetts, where there is a large grammar-school fed by a number of primary schools. In this instance a School City will be formed in each school, under a School State, which will govern all the schools in the district. Thus the children in this group of schools will be familiarized in a most practical way with the principles of republican government, by daily participation in a miniature municipal and state government.

Happily for America, we are at the present time in a period of civic awakening such as from time to time rescues the city and the state, partially at least, from the grasp of greed

and sordid selfishness after periods of general civic lethargy. But such awakenings are in the nature of the case largely temporary or transient in their influence, so long as the great bulk of the voters have no definite concept of self-government or the sacred duty which every voter owes to a democratic government. On this subject Mr. Gill recently observed:

"Civic awakenings such as that brought about by Dr. Parkhurst in New York some years since, and the successful opposition to the 'Gas Steal' in Philadelphia, in May, 1905, are of great value, but as they do not rest upon the fixed habit of attending to the ordinary civic duties by the more highly educated part of the community, who bring them about, soon afterward the civic conditions decline, eternal vigilance, the price of liberty, is not paid, a new monarch arises, and after a series of years of robbery, protected vice and oppression by the new 'boss,' a new crusade is preached and there is another temporary manifestation of virtue.

"Permanent right civic conditions must rest on right civic habits of educated people. Such habits, if established at all, must be in the character-building, habit-making part of one's life, in childhood and early youth. The schools have not attended to this, yet they are the only extensive, practical means for this purpose, and this is the special reason for their existence. The School City is designed for this very purpose. It is a reasonable apprenticeship in the art of citizenship or right living. If you wish to help build a permanent and good civic foundation, give your moral and financial support to the School-City movement. One thousand dollars spent on this preventive, constructive work will produce larger and more permanent results than many times that amount spent on the symptoms and in counteracting the results of bad government."

Believing as we do that these observations are sound and that the School City is one of the most, if not the most, important fundamental movements for preserving democracy in its purity, for elevating civic standards and ideals, and for developing the character and mental independence of the individual, it affords us pleasure to know that recently a number of prominent thoughtful and high-minded citizens have formed a National School-City League, which we trust will prove an important auxiliary in hastening the general success of the movement. The following are

among the reasons which led to its formation:

"The School-City System of moral and civic training by means of self-government under instruction was originated in 1897 and has been established in a number of schools, accomplishing excellent results in the moral and educational development of the students and releasing for constructive work much of the teacher's energy formerly used in police duty.

"The best results from these School Cities can only be obtained where they are intelligently organized and supervised in the light of the widest experience.

"The effort to establish this system in our public-schools has depended almost entirely upon the personal work and resources of Mr. Gill, the originator, and the work of extending the system cannot become generally and speedily effective except as it is aided and supported by the organized coöperation of public-spirited citizens."

The organization holds that the movement will necessarily do much to conserve a government of the people, by the people and for the people, while giving the pupils in our educational institutions a better system of moral and civic training.

In order that the movement shall become general and that earnest patriots everywhere may actively coöperate in the work, arrangements have been made for the formation of chapters of the League which may be formed "by ten or more persons in any locality. National, state and local organizations of all kinds are invited to appoint School-City Committees to form chapters of this League, the membership of which may be restricted to members of the organizing society or not. Children may form junior chapters of ten or more members and receive a charter."

Both men and women are eligible to membership. The annual membership dues have been placed at one dollar for adults and fifty cents for children. Persons interested in the League work should address the National Secretary, Ralph Albertson, Jamaica Plain, Boston, Massachusetts, enclosing stamp for reply.

Elsewhere we have urged the formation of centers of light and leading, suggesting that direct-legislation be made the common bond for the organizations. In communities where people are specially interested in an education that shall promote the highest type of manhood

and womanhood and also foster noble civic ideals, it is probable that chapters of the School-City League could be more readily formed than the societies of which we have written, while in other communities direct-legislation and the School City could be made the basis for progressive organizations, as the two movements necessarily complement each other. One aims to bring the government back to the people, and the other to preserve demo-

cratic government in its purity. There are hundreds of thousands of Americans who will willingly contribute from one dollar to five dollars a year for works that will in a positive way bulwark and preserve free government and make for civic justice and righteousness; and we know of no method better than the formation and successful carrying forward of such organizations to achieve these glorious ends.

A MACEDONIAN CRY FROM THE SOUTH TO THE FATHERS AND MOTHERS OF THE NORTHLAND.

IN THIS issue of *THE ARENA* we publish a paper from the pen of Dr. Agnes Valentine Kelley, a high-minded Southern woman who has consecrated her life and the means at her command to the erecting of school buildings in the rural districts of Louisiana and Alabama. We have recently read letters to Dr. Kelley from the governors of these two commonwealths and also from the Superintendent of Public Instruction of Louisiana, all earnestly commending her great work.*

If ever there was a true Macedonian cry for help, it is that which to-day is coming from

*The following extracts from letters written by the Governor of Louisiana, and by State Superintendent of Public Instruction Aswell, of Louisiana, indicate how deeply interested are the leaders of the new movement for popular education in these commonwealths in Dr. Kelley's effort to build one hundred schoolhouses for white children in the rural districts.

Governor Newton C. Blanchard, of Louisiana, writing under date of May 1, 1905, to Dr. Kelley, says: "I am very glad to know that you propose to build one hundred schoolhouses in the country places and villages of the South. In doing this you will have my hearty coöperation and good-will, and I promise you to be present at and lay the corner-stone of the first building, making an address suitable to the occasion. I will also see to it that the corner-stones of other buildings will be laid with appropriate ceremonies. The people of Louisiana will rise up and call you blessed if you do this great work among them. We need all the assistance we can possibly get in the great cause of public education. I am making the cause of public education the chief feature of my administration."

And under date of May 25, 1905, Governor Blanchard writes again: "I shall be pleased to meet and confer with you when you come to Louisiana as proposed in August or September next. You ask me to make a statement of just what is needed in the way of schoolhouses in our state. Replying to this would say that a great effort is being made

the country districts of the war-impoveryished states of the South. From no source does the commonwealth and the nation receive such rich returns in noble and useful manhood as from the money expended in teaching the children of the farming districts, for the reason that their lives are simple, uncorrupted and uncontaminated. They have little to divert the mind from serious study or to feed the imagination, and as a rule they are eager to learn. In the cities there are always multitudinous agencies and influences which dis-

by the State of Louisiana and by the local school-authorities throughout the state to push the cause of common-school education so as to give to every child in the state a training that would fit him or her for the life that he or she has to live. All money raised by state taxation, and country and district taxation, for school purposes is needed for the maintenance of the schools. That is, to keep them going for seven or eight months in the year. To take any part of this money to build schoolhouses would be to curtail the length of the school term. All over the rural portions of the state we are greatly in need of schoolhouses in which to conduct the public schools. The state is deficient in this regard. You and those associated with you could do no greater philanthropic work than to assist the children of the state in obtaining an education, by contributing to the construction of substantial school-buildings. The Superintendent of Public Education, Hon. J. B. Aswell, whom I look upon as one of the leading educators of the South, will also write you touching the need of schoolhouses."

Hon. J. B. Aswell, State Superintendent of Public Instruction of Louisiana, writes: "If you could know anything personally of the widespread interest in the state just now in educational matters, and if you could see the great need of school-buildings, I am sure you would be happy in the contemplation of the great work you have in mind."

Governor William D. Jelks, of Alabama, has written letters to Dr. Kelley very similar in import to those of Governor Blanchard.

tract the attention of the children so that the education received leaves a far less indelible impress than it leaves upon the mind of the country child. Then there are also so many corrupting influences and so much that strangles and destroys high idealism and lowers the standard of morals, that the return in education is less satisfactory than with the child of the soil. The fact that a large proportion of the moral leaders and the really noble and great men were raised in the country or in small towns has been too often dwelt upon to call for comment here, but it is a fact worthy of mention in the present connection.

We are far enough away from the Civil war to be rational and just. The brave sons and daughters of the South who in a former generation warred to uphold State sovereignty and to maintain the possession of the slaves were of our bone, blood and brain. Like us they were the children of their environment, and like us they fought for what they believed to be right. If they were in error—and we would be the last to uphold the cause of chattel-slavery or any other form of slavery for that matter—they paid most terribly for their error in the destruction of their property, the laying waste of their homes and the general devastation that ensued during the reconstruction period. From the awful paralysis that followed the war the white population of many portions of the Gulf states has not been able as yet to recover sufficiently to incur the double expense of building and maintaining public-schools. Here thousands of children, eager boys and girls, thirsting for knowledge, longing to learn to read and write, are denied this absolutely essential safeguard of democracy through the force of adverse circumstances. Here are vast tracts of land where the children of old American families—the stock that can and will if given a chance give us noble, safe, high-minded leaders, councillors and guides in political and social crises—are to-day crying for the opportunity to learn to read and write,—crying for that priceless boon which a democracy if it is to live must guarantee to all her children. And here is a noble-minded Southern woman intelligently consecrating her life to the work of supplying one hundred schools in the schoolless rural districts of two of the great Gulf states. The work is as practical as it is noble. It is a labor that must appeal to every parent and to all lovers of free institutions and of humanity.

We urge our readers to aid in this important

work—become helpers in the erection of the enduring temple of progress, even if it be only by the contribution of a mite, the bringing, as it were, of a single brick to the builders.

Early in the nineties, as many of our readers will remember, after publishing the results of our extended investigations in the slums of Boston, we made a personal appeal to the readers of *THE ARENA*, asking for funds to aid in relieving the great distress. Between three and four thousand dollars were contributed in response to this appeal and was disbursed under the personal direction of Rev. Dr. Swaffield, of the Baptist Bethel Mission, and Rev. Mr. Deming, of the Bowdoin Square Baptist Mission. One banker in Illinois, who requested his name withheld, after reading our appeal sent his check for one thousand dollars. Others sent sums varying in amount down to ten cents; but the aggregate, as we have stated, was between three and four thousand dollars.

In that appeal we asked for money to be used as a palliative measure to relieve for an hour those in dire distress. Now we appeal to the noble-hearted readers of the *ARENA* family to help in a cause that is basic and fundamental—a work that will bring the most important kind of assistance to those most in need of help—a work that will exalt, enrich and ennoble life and at the same time aid in the preservation and exaltation of democracy. Can any reader refuse his mite in this noble cause?*

We seldom urge our readers to contribute to any special cause, but this work is of exceptional value and promise, and the need is very great. Moreover, we believe that those who are moved to make personal sacrifice for such a cause as this will receive a rich return in consciousness of the good done, and in the years to come the funds thus given will blossom into rich fruition in well-dowered brains and noble lives whose development was rendered possible through these little schools. Fathers and mothers whose children are enjoying the fine advantages of our splendid public-school system in the North, will you not one and all extend a helping hand to the unfortunate children of the Southland?

* Contributions may be sent to Dr. Agnes V. Kelley, Meadville, Pa.; or those readers desiring to do so can send direct to the Editor of *THE ARENA*, 5 Park Square, Boston, Mass., where all contributions will be acknowledged and forwarded to Dr. Kelley.

IN THE MIRROR OF THE PRESENT.

PROGRESS AND BENEFICENT RESULTS OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP.

WHAT MUNICIPAL CAR-SERVICE MEANT TO MANCHESTER AND HER CITIZENS LAST YEAR.

THE REPORTS of the past year of the Manchester, England, Street Railway were given to the public the last week in June. The following items from the report will prove of interest to thoughtful Americans as affording another illustration of the wisdom and practicality of municipal operation:

Passengers carried.....	126,900,874
Total revenue earned.....	\$3,159,775
Increase of revenue over last year	100,000
Increase of expenses over last year ...	98,720
Net profit realized.....	505,000

Above profit disposed of as follows:	
Renewals and depreciation account..	354,535
Contributions in aid of rates.....	230,000
Street improvements, interest, etc.....	20,215

In addition \$25,000 was given to the rates from the reserve fund.

Over seventy per cent. of the passengers carried paid a penny or two-cent fare only. It will be observed that \$230,000 of the earnings last year were applied to the reduction of rates. This, with the \$300,000 paid by the municipal gas-company, makes over half a million dollars applied by these two municipal monopolies to the relief of the burden of taxation; while, as noted above, seventy per cent. of the passengers on the street-cars paid but two-cent fares and the citizens enjoyed gas at fifty-five cents per thousand cubic feet instead of being taxed ninety cents to \$1.25 per thousand feet, as is the case under the Dolans, the Ryans and other heads of the various corrupt and graft-breeding gas-companies of America.

GAS AT 55 CENTS GIVES MANCHESTER \$300,000 A YEAR IN PROFITS.

ONE OF the Boston *Herald's* staff contributors has been making a personal investigation of the results of municipal-ownership in the cities of Great Britain. In his report on municipal gas in Manchester, published in the *Herald* of July 11th, he makes the following admissions that must prove

highly interesting and valuable to friends of municipal-ownership in America. Manchester furnishes her citizens with gas at fifty-five cents per thousand cubic feet within the city, and at sixty-one cents in the suburbs beyond the limits of the corporation. The price of gas used exclusively for power is forty-nine cents within the city and fifty-five cents beyond the municipal boundaries.

These prices, it will be noted, are about one-half the average price charged by the great illuminating corporations to our citizens. In most American cities a rate of one dollar per thousand cubic feet prevails. Thus a man in the New World who annually pays forty dollars for gas contributes eighteen dollars to the corruption funds and the private purses of the public-service corporation, more than the citizen of Manchester pays into the treasury of the municipal corporation. Yet this is but half the story of the benefits of municipal-ownership as found in Manchester.

Last year the public gas-corporation turned over \$300,000 to the treasury of Manchester to reduce the rates and taxes. The year before the gas department also turned \$300,000 into the city treasury, and three years ago the city received \$350,000. Thus in three years the city government of Manchester has realized \$950,000 on fifty-five-cent gas.

It is easy to understand why the gas corporations, every political boss, the newspapers and other special-pleaders who hold briefs for public-service corporations and those interested in the corrupt political machines in our city governments are so solicitous lest the American people shall exercise that degree of wisdom and common-sense that will lead them to imitate the splendid examples of the mother-country; for then the millions upon millions of dollars that are now diverted into a few scores of pockets and the vast sums used to debauch the people's misrepresentatives would go toward reducing the cost of gas and also the rates of taxes; while what is far more important to free institutions, the enormous wealth now being paid by public-service cor-

porations for the control of our cities, by debauching the people's servants, would be withdrawn, and the corrupt ring, invincible so long as the millions of the public-service companies are behind the bosses and machines, would be as Samson shorn of his locks before the aroused electorate. Take the public utilities out of the hands of the public-service corporations which have been the chief sources of the carnival of graft and corruption in city, state and nation, and give the people the democratic safeguards of the initiative, referendum and right of recall, and not only will the knell of the corrupt public-service rule be sounded, but the best instead of the worst element will be placed as custodians of the public weal, and the standard of public morals will be more quickly elevated than would be possible under any other proposed remedies.

The *Herald's* report in reference to Manchester is of special value by reason of the fact that that newspaper has always been hostile to the people enjoying their public utilities under municipal-ownership and operation, and the staff correspondent they have sent over is so clearly antagonistic to public-ownership that the reader finds it difficult to escape the conclusion that he holds a brief for the public-service corporations. Therefore, though he is compelled to give facts showing the enormously beneficial results of municipal-ownership, as above, for example, he is continually intimating that what English cities are doing we could not do because of politics and corruption; as if the fountain-head of corruption were not the public-service companies. And the constant intimation that the American people are too incompetent and corrupt to own and operate their public utilities, continually being urged by the interested friends of private-ownership, is an insult to every self-respecting American, and coming from the apologists for the arch-conspirators it is doubly odious as well as unwarranted by the facts. Cities that from the first have owned their water-plants and other utilities have rarely been disgraced by exposures of corruption save in those cases where the public-service companies have been able practically to gain control of the cities through the exaltation of their dishonest henchmen and tools to positions of bosses and manipulators of the dominating political machines. In such cases the city government soon falls into the hands of grafters, and so long as the corporations practically rule the city, corruption is neces-

sarily fostered and the standard of civic morality is steadily lowered, as in New York, Philadelphia and elsewhere.

LONDON REALIZES \$1,000,000 IN PROFITS FROM MUNICIPAL STREET-RAIL- WAY LINES.

A CORRESPONDENT writes to know whether London has experimented in municipal operation of street-railways, and another inquirer desires to know if the attempt at municipal-operation of street-cars in London has not proved a disastrous failure.

In reply to the former query we would say that for eight years some of the London electric street-car lines have been under municipal operation, with results that are highly satisfactory to the citizens of London and are only regarded as "disastrous" by the greedy public-service philanthropists who desire to protect the municipality from the "burden" of municipal-ownership for the benefit of their own pocketbooks.

Doubtless our second correspondent has read some of the false statements published a few months since by those who sought to further the scheme of certain public-service magnates. These mendacious statements, which were industriously circulated by those who opposed municipal-ownership, called forth a statement from Chairman Baker of the Committee on Highways of the London County Council, not only completely refuting the falsehoods circulated, but proving how immensely the city has benefited by municipal control and operation. In this report Chairman Baker shows that during the past eight years, since the city has operated certain lines, a sum of almost \$1,500,000 has been applied to the reduction of rates and taxes from surplus revenues, after providing for interest and sinking-fund charges.

Mr. Baker gives the following summary of the tramways account during the last eight years:

" Applied in reduction of rates, over.....	£293,000
" Amount paid for sinking-fund charges in reduction of debt (Northern system, which has been in Council's hands for eight years, £117,044; Southern system, which has been in Council's hands six years, £210,195, and general, £6,907)	335,236
" Amount paid for interest on capital.....	414,000
" Amount set aside as a reconstruction renewals reserve fund for Southern system.....	66,000

"Amount paid in rates and taxes on Southern system (six years).....	90,000
"Amount paid in reduction of debt from proceeds of sale of horses, rolling stock, surplus property, etc.....	126,220

"During the four years between 1899 and 1903," says Mr. Baker. "the forty-eight miles of tramways north of the river, which are leased by the Council, earned as profit, after paying interest and sinking-fund charges, £153,700, while the twenty-four miles on the south side of the Thames worked by the Council provided, after paying corresponding charges, £72,000."

In this connection, Mr. Baker points out the following facts regarding the lines worked by the Council:

"Two hundred million passengers were carried at a fare of one cent.

"Workmen's cars were run at even cheaper fares, and the service has continued all night long.

"The Council conceded to its employés a six days' week, and a ten-hour day, etc., representing increased expenditure of over £30,000 a year."

ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE WISDOM OF MUNICIPAL-OWNERSHIP.

THE CITY of Jamestown, N. Y., for many years labored under the popular delusion that a private corporation could best conduct public business or operate natural monopolies. Hence, they let a private company own and operate the water-works of the city,—something which proved excellent for the company but unfortunate for the users of water. About two years ago the city bought the water-works for six hundred thousand dollars from the company. Since then, the water-rate has been reduced twenty-five per cent., and after paying fixed charges and making many improvements, the municipal plant is now accumulating a surplus.

RELIGIOUS PROGRESS.

A TWENTIETH-CENTURY CHURCH.

IF THE church is to be a great moral power, a mighty civilization-vitalizing center in society in the future, it must become more and more institutional in character. It must reach out its hand and touch all members of society in a practical and helpful manner, and it must purge itself of that element which in the days of the Great Nazarene called from his lips his most severe denunciation: "Those who devour widows' houses and for a pretence make long prayers"; those who builded sepulchres to the martyrs of human progress while striving to destroy the prophets of their own time; those who cried "Lord! Lord!" and gave out of their abundance to be seen of men, while plundering the people by means of indirection. All these classes are present in the church today. Moreover, many of them are striving in various ways to bribe the church into silence and they are finding willing voices in the pulpits and the press to uphold them and apologize for their morally criminal methods of business. The church can become no vital power in the community until she has been purged from this class. The conscious and unconscious hypocrites whose influence is serving to destroy the old-time line of demar-

cation between the religious man and the materialistic epicurean are more than any other influence lessening the power of the church for efficient work.

But it will not be enough for the church to repudiate that class which is dragging her down to the level of the low commercial ideals that dominate the market; she must become a militant force for justice, for freedom, for peace and for brotherhood. These things alone can restore her old-time power over the imagination of the people, and we are glad to note that there are many indications that the religious world is beginning to realize this fact. The tremendous protest on the part of the morally-awakened element of the church against the acceptance of tainted gold or hush-money from men whose wealth has been acquired largely by indirection, is one of the healthiest signs of the time. The growing spirit of fraternity, the tendency of not an inconsiderable number of representative ministers to take a brave stand for the toilers and to engage in an aggressive campaign for international peace, and a willingness to study the fundamental principles that underlie social and economic conditions which are pressing for solution to-day and upon the just solution of which the happiness and well-being of the

people so largely depend presage the advent of another moral renaissance. We believe that during the last year there has been a general realization on the part of an increasing number of clergymen of the fact that if Christianity is to continue to be a vital and helpful influence, it must return to the life, spirit and teachings of the Galilean for its inspiration and example; and this, we are inclined to believe, foreshadows a coming religious revolution. The twentieth-century church, if we read the signs of the times aright, must in a substantial way exemplify the life and spirit of Jesus. Like him, it must be ever about the Father's business and its edifices not merely open to services a few hours in the week.

Recently there has been dedicated in Chicago a new edifice which bears the name of the Abraham Lincoln Center and which is the home of an organization that we think has interpreted the new demand in a more compelling way than has heretofore been witnessed. The Abraham Lincoln Center is the home of the congregation which for almost a quarter of a century, under the able ministry of the Rev. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, one of the greatest of the liberal divines, has been striving to live the Golden Rule and to grow to more fully meet the demands of the age and the need of all life that can be reached and helped by its influence. The church is undenominational, but unlike many liberal congregations it is intensely alive, aflame, we may say, with the spirit of the Nazarene.

The new home is a six-story, fire-proof structure. It stands on Oakwood boulevard and Langley avenue. The building is plain in its exterior, which we think is peculiarly unfortunate, as we hold that churches, like the Greek temples of old, should be built with an eye to satisfying the esthetic taste and cul-

tivating a love of the beautiful as well as ministering to the utilitarian side of life. With this exception, however, the building leaves little to be desired. It has been so constructed as to admirably meet the numerous and varied demands of the twentieth-century church. The basement is intended for boys' arts and crafts, for photography and amusements. The first floor contains the publication office, reading-rooms, circulating library, parlors and working-rooms. The second and third floors are given over to the auditorium and Sunday-school rooms. The fourth floor will be largely occupied by the library and social clubs. On the fifth floor, in addition to the pastor's apartments and the rooms for the resident workers, is a guest-chamber. The sixth floor has been set aside for the gymnasium and rooms for the social science classes.

The Center will be the headquarters of the World's Congress of Religions, which was organized at the Chicago World's Fair and has since, under the able presidency of the Rev. H. W. Thomas, been working for the union of all who love for the service of all the children of the Infinite. In speaking of this splendid new edifice, this typical twentieth-century church of the Carpenter, the distinguished pastor, Dr. Jenkin Lloyd Jones, recently said:

"It is hoped that this building may become a center of life and love, towards which will gravitate the needs of head, heart and body, and from which will radiate all forces that will help redeem and elevate the individual and the community. It will be a common meeting-place for those who need and those who will give help—non-sectarian, non-partisan, non-racial—where the distinction between the classes and the masses will not appear."

DEMOCRACY IN OTHER LANDS.

CUBA'S PROGRESS UNDER FREEDOM.

AFTER the United States had assisted to liberate Cuba from Spanish despotism and misrule, the reactionary and corporate powers and a large section of the imperialistic party in our republic strenuously fought to prevent the island empire from enjoying the freedom that its people had so long and bravely

struggled to achieve and which our government had guaranteed. Avarice, cupidity and low ethical ideals usurped the place of the fundamental principles that have been the chief crown and glory of the nation, while the insane cry for world-domination through forcible aggression became a shibboleth in the mouths of many of the unthinking as well as of the interested ones. Happily for the honor

of the republic and the welfare of Cuba, there was still enough of the old spirit in the land to compel the government to keep its faith. Statesmen of the old order, like Senators Hoar and Teller, bravely led the successful fight against the attempt to rob Cuba of the right of self-government, on the hypocritical pretext that the Cubans could not govern themselves.

The progress of the little island-republic has more than justified the faith of the friends of free government. When Spain relinquished her grip on the island, there were but 904 primary public-schools in Cuba. To-day there are 3,605, in which there are 120,000 children being instructed. This illustration of the spirit of free Cuba speaks volumes for her people and the promise of a prosperous future; for a nation that thus appreciates the importance of popular free education and that holds faithfully and steadfastly to the ideals of democracy, has leagued itself with progress and the dawn.

More than this: the political and industrial records of Cuba are equal to her educational advance. So striking have been her strides that they have attracted the attention of the Spanish papers. One of these journals, published in Madrid, recently commented as follows on the transformation wrought since the misrule of Spain had been overthrown:

"Yellow fever was a chronic reproach to our colonial administration. A few months of hygiene and sanitation during the American intervention did more for the island than the power of Spain had done in four centuries. In 1880, under colonial *régime*, there were in Habana 7,942 deaths, or 39.94 per thousand;

645 deaths were from yellow fever, 446 from smallpox. In 1901, under Yankee intervention, the mortality had been reduced to 5,720, or 22.09 per thousand. There were only 18 deaths from yellow fever and none from smallpox. These comparisons are far from flattering to our colonizing methods and to our public men. In order that Cuba might liken herself to the great modern nations in hygiene, instruction, governmental mechanism, industrial development, etc., she had to escape from our sway. Had she continued subject to Spain she would still be afflicted with the troubles from which she suffered before the revolution."

The same journal shows that the present budget of Cuba is now \$23,370,000. This is but little more than the annual budget under Spanish rule, but in the old days, as the Spanish editor observes, \$11,000,000 was spent for interest on the debt and \$7,000,000 for support of the army. Thus under the old rule \$18,000,000 was a dead weight, while now the bulk of the revenue is applied to meet what the people desire and need,—for schools, for wagon-roads, for railways and for other things essential to the moral, intellectual and material well-being of the people. \$2,000,000 is now expended annually in building wagon-roads, while since the yoke was thrown off, Cuba has built over four hundred miles of railway.

The splendid record of the island republic in the dawning hours of her independence, after four hundred years of oppressive rule, is inspiring to all friends of democracy and believers in the fundamental doctrines of our Declaration of Independence.

AN IMPORTANT JUDICIAL RULING.

THE NEW YORK FRANCHISE DECISION.

ON THE twenty-ninth of May the United States Supreme Court rendered a decision on the New York special franchise-tax, upholding the validity of the contested law, that is of far-reaching import. Since the passage of the law levying a tax on franchise corporations of the Empire State, the great corporations refused to pay the tax and fought the measure after the manner of the over-rich companies which seek to exploit the people while throwing on the masses the burden of

taxation. As usual, they employed the shrewdest and most intellectually acute lawyers to try to invent reasons why the law was not constitutional, and as a result the case has been in the courts ever since President Roosevelt was governor of New York. At last it reached the supreme court of the nation, where Secretary Root brought all the cunning and sophistry of a lawyer trained to plead the cause of the corporations against the people, to bear to try to convince the supreme court that the will of the people as expressed in the law was a violation of the Constitution. In this in-



MRS. JAMES M. FERGUSON

Photo. by Moore, New Orleans

stance, however, the supreme court refused to see the case through the spectacles of the corporation attorney and upheld the law.

The taxes that have accumulated in greater New York alone already amount to twenty-four million dollars, which, unless the would-be tax-dodgers and their lawyers can invent some new excuse for litigation, they will be compelled to turn into the treasury of the city, and from now on they will pay at least four million dollars a year to the city's treasury.

There is no sound reason why the corporations should seek to evade the tax. Indeed, there is excellent reason why, so long as they

enjoy public franchises, they should pay a far greater rate into the public treasuries than the present law requires; but during recent years the over-rich individuals and the public-service companies have resorted to every known device, even to taking up a nominal residence in another state, in order to avoid paying their just proportion of the taxes, and thus a terrible burden has been placed on the masses of the wealth-creators. Moreover, this action has contributed largely toward destroying the ideal of moral integrity upon which the preservation of good government, high-minded citizenship and noble manhood depends.

CORRUPTION AND REACTION IN HIGH PLACES.

BRIBERY BY RAILWAY PASSES.

ONE OF the significant illustrations of the change in public sentiment since the people began to awaken to the extent and influence of bribery by the railway and express companies, through passes and courtesies, is seen in the changed attitude of the press in the treatment accorded to Congressman Robert Baker when he refused all railroad passes and courtesies, and that which has greeted the recent refusal of Secretary Bonaparte to accept similar favors. When Mr. Baker refused the courtesies tendered him it had become the almost universal custom of the people's representatives and servants to accept this kind of bribe. Mr. Baker's high ideal of a statesman's duty led him to positively refuse all such favors, and for this he was ridiculed, sneered at and attacked by a large proportion of the daily press and treated as a freak by the shallow wags among the paragraphers. At that time and for some time subsequent, President Roosevelt was the beneficiary of the railways to the extent of tens of thousands of dollars for himself and his family, but we are glad to say that recently the president has come to see the impropriety of his accepting favors from the railways, and he has of late, we are informed, insisted on paying his fare. Mr. Bonaparte's stand, following the recent action of the president, is an admirable example which will materially aid the cause of political morality and is especially valuable at a time when the railways are dominating politics largely through the free-pass and courtesy bribes. It is stated that all the members

of the cabinet, excepting Mr. Bonaparte, are the recipients of free passes.

It will be remembered that C. P. Huntington, as far back as 1876, pointed out the fact that the free pass was one of the railway's most effective weapons in controlling legislation, as in a letter to General Colton, written on March 4, 1876, Mr. Huntington said: "Scott is making a terrible effort to pass his bill, and he has many advantages, with his railways running out from Washington in almost every direction, on which he gives free passes to everyone that he thinks can help him ever so little."

From those days, now thirty years back, to the present, the railway companies have exerted a steadily increasing influence in state and national government, until it is practically impossible for the people to secure any redress from their wrongs and oppression through their lawmakers or law-enforcers. And this intolerable condition has in a large measure been rendered possible by the petty bribes through passes and courtesies extended to the public servants; though it is, of course, not impossible that the railways may have been secretly and systematically fortifying themselves as did the exploiters of the Equitable Assurance Company, when they silenced with princely fees and retainers political leaders of both parties. If this is true, it would serve to explain the pernicious activity of several United States Senators and Representatives in the battle for the railways against the people whose interests they have sworn to uphold. But be this as it may, the senators or representatives whose pockets are filled with rail-

way passes are not going to place the interests of the people above those of their patrons, unless they are alarmed at the general indignation and impatience of the electors. That the railways regard the giving of passes as pay for the people's servants to betray their constituents was clearly brought out by the *Chicago Record-Herald* on July 1st, in the following statement:

"One of the most prominent Eastern railroads has refused all requests for free transportation which have come from the Senators and Congressmen who were either in favor of the Esch-Townsend bill or were lukewarm in their advocacy of the railroad side of the legislation. It is also understood that other Eastern roads are taking similar action, and in consequence there is consternation in the ranks of the United States legislators. There is no mistaking the reason for the 'turning down' which the members of Congress are receiving. To every request that comes from legislators who have been placed on the black-list a stereotyped letter is sent by the president of the road. This letter says that for years that particular railroad has submitted without a murmur to the petty system of blackmail levied upon it by legislators who had no claim to free rides. This was done on the theory that when the time came the railroads would have friends who would at least give the railroad side of legislation a careful and fair study. On the contrary, it is said, when the opportunity presented itself the legislator in question broke his neck getting on record as being in favor of the Esch-Townsend bill. The president's letter then declares that so long as favors do not seem to bring even a fair consideration of the railroad's rights he has decided that favors shall cease, and that if the person in question wants to ride over the road in question he had better buy a ticket."

Either the people must take over the public utilities or they must abandon the government to the corruptors of the public servants and the oppressors of the wealth-producing and consuming masses. It is idle to hope for any really efficient legislation so long as the legislative halls are packed with men who by the acceptance of passes, courtesies or larger bribes are retained by the railways to betray the people. It is idle to expect the present carnival of political corruption and debauchery to be abated so long as the tools of corporate interests are elevated to the most responsible posi-

tions through the united efforts of corporate wealth, political bosses and partisan machines. Now these evils are beginning to be recognized as never before, and with this recognition we believe a popular uprising will be inevitable.

THE CONVICTION OF SENATOR MITCHELL.

THE RECENT conviction of United States Senator Mitchell of Oregon, for complicity in land-frauds, on evidence which according to the leading Republican organ of his state, the *Portland Oregonian*, is based "on incontestable proof," is another hopeful sign which indicates that we are entering a period of moral awakening wherein the people will drive the thieves and betrayers of the nation and its citizens from the temple of government and the mastership in the vital centers of business life. Senator Mitchell's conviction, following that of Senator Burton of Kansas, makes an auspicious beginning in the new attempt to clean the senatorial Augean stables; and while we think there is doubtless much truth in the claim of Senator Mitchell's apologists, that he is far less a moral criminal than numbers of other members of the Senate, we do not consider that that is a valid reason why justice should not be meted out to him as swiftly and certainly as to a poor man. It is the duty of every true citizen to insist that whenever and wherever the false servants of the people are caught red-handed in the commission of crimes against the state or society, they be punished with swiftness and severity. The fact that, to use the language of the *New York Evening Post*, "he (Mitchell) merely did what dozens of other senators and congressmen are doing all the time," in no wise makes his crime the less heinous. And had it not been that the highly respectable rich and influential lawbreakers have long felt secure, believing that their wealth and position, or that rich and powerful corporations in whose employ many of them have long waxed fat, would shield and protect them from the punishment that would surely overtake a poor man without such influence, such a reign of graft and corruption as now disgraces city, state and nation would have been impossible.

The hope of the republic lies in the hunting down and adequate punishment of every criminal with the unerring and inescapable justice of the British courts. We believe we are in the gray dawn of a moral renaissance. All that is needed is that every man who has the

interests, the integrity and the honor of the nation at heart shall unite in a relentless and ceaseless warfare against all grafters and exploiters of the people, all "high financiers" and all the official Judases and Arnolds that, actuated by lust for gain or greed for power, have subordinated the interests of the nation to selfish motives and have violated the criminal statutes. The hour has struck for every true man to become a voice and a strong arm for justice and civic righteousness in the warfare for the redemption of the republic from the grip of the spoilers.

HOW GOVERNMENT BY THE CORPORATIONS
PREVENTED THE CITIZENS OF CONNECT-
ICUT FROM ENJOYING INDEPENDENT
TELEPHONE SERVICE.

THE FOLLOWING dispatch from Hartford to the Boston *Herald* affords one more of the many instances that disgrace the legislative records of almost every commonwealth, revealing how the rights and interests of the people are systematically betrayed by recreant legislators since the rule of the corporations through the reign of graft and corruption has been inaugurated:

"HARTFORD, CT., July 6, 1905.—By a vote of 105 to 99, the bill to admit independent telephone companies to do business in this state was rejected in the House to-day. This is regarded as a victory for the Southern New England Telephone Company, as the bill would have allowed seven or more persons to have formed a telephone company, and various independent interests were supposed to be behind the measure."

The independent telephone companies have proved a great boon to the rural peoples through the West and in various other sections of the nation. There is no valid reason why the people should not enjoy the benefit and convenience of this invention without having

to pay extortionate tariffs to corporations rich and immoral enough to be able to prevent the people from enjoying their rights, by infamously tampering with the people's representatives. One thing is clearly needed, and that is the formation of committees of public safety and welfare who will keep tally on every legislator and record and make public in each community the names of all representatives who as tools of corrupt corporations betray the people they are supposed to represent.

THE MORAL CONTAGION IN THE ARKAN-
SAS LEGISLATURE.

A NUMBER of Arkansas legislators, including the president of the senate, have been indicted for receiving or offering bribes, for conspiracy or perjury. It is stated that at the recent legislature one hundred thousand dollars was corruptly used in the state senate alone, and almost this amount was used in the house. Prosecuting Attorney Lewis Rhoton conducted the investigation and is carrying forward the prosecution. In this case all the indicted lawmakers as well as the prosecuting attorney and the grand jury that indicted them are Democrats. Wherever one party is long in power, political machines and public-service corporations secure venal misrepresentatives in public office and a reign of corruption ensues. In St. Louis and in Missouri the majority of criminals as well as the prosecutor who brought them to justice were Democrats. In Arkansas the same is true, while in Pennsylvania and Philadelphia the corruptors are Republicans who owe their position to the corrupt Republican machine and the public-service corporations; and here we find the most powerful exposé or unmasker of the iniquity to be a life-long Republican—Rudolph Blankenburg, while the present Mayor of Philadelphia who is doing such valiant service for civic purity is also a Republican.

THE RAILROAD CORPORATIONS' CAMPAIGN OF EDUCATION.

THE NEW YORK *World* for June 2d makes the following comments in an editorial on the elaborate educational programme of the over-rich and criminal railroad corporations by which these companies, which have proved themselves to be the greatest commercial anarchists of our time, propose to expend a little of their ill-gotten wealth to edu-

cate the people to longer tolerate their reign of extortion, discrimination and lawlessness:

"Alarmed at the agitation in favor of government control of rates, the railroad interests of the country have planned to establish two bureaux from which they will conduct a national campaign of education.

"Campaigns of education are always to be encouraged, but the distribution of statistics is not the best way to overwhelm the movement in favor of government rate-making. Instead of establishing bureaux, suppose the railroads were to agree not to violate the Interstate Commerce law, not to give rebates, not to tolerate discriminations, to make their rates reasonable on the basis of the actual investment, to remedy the abuses of private terminals and private car-lines—in short, to give all shippers and all sections fair treatment. . . . About all the railroads need do is to get out of politics, stop bribing legislatures, stop trying to send corporation lawyers to the United States Senate and stop trying to put railway attorneys on the bench. The agitation in favor of government ownership of railroads would cease at once."

The above comments are of especial value coming as they do from a great metropolitan paper that for some time—certainly since the Hearst papers declared for public-ownership—has been the bitter enemy of public-ownership. Its black beast is socialism and it is accustomed to frown upon everything that looks toward the whole people taking over and enjoying the benefits of those great monopolies that by right belong to the community and without the public control of which the people are placed at the mercy of cunning and greed. Though the *World* has been the outspoken enemy of the people enjoying the benefits accruing from the enormously valuable public franchises, it is only fair to state in passing that it has been none the less the outspoken foe of the corruption and extortion of the privileged few. Its *exposé* of the Cleveland bond-deal and the prompt action taken by its proprietor prevented the carrying out of the second attempt to enrich Morgan and Belmont to the extent of several millions at the expense of the United States treasury under the Cleveland régime. Its recent *exposé* of the corruption of the Equitable Assurance Company was so circumstantial and convincing in character that it made all attempts to smother the scandal in its early stages impossible. Indeed, we think it is safe to say that it was the New York *World* more than any other single agency that made the Frick report inevitable. And these are but two examples of scores of instances wherein the *World* has performed great public service through its exposure of corruption among the pillars of society and those who seem to imagine themselves to be superior to law.

The implied warning of the *World* in the

above editorial should serve to put the American people on their guard. The two railroad bureaux of education will be in fact lobbies for the furtherance of the railways' plan for the continued enslavement of the people. All that their ill-gotten millions can do will be done to deceive and mislead the people, and we may now expect that that portion of the American press that is ever ready to be "convinced," to use the significant phrase of the late C. P. Huntington, will lend its editorial and news-columns to this railroad educational bureau in its effort to flood the country with the special-pleadings of those who have corrupted the people's servants, defied the law and oppressed both producers and consumers. We believe, however, that the American people are too thoroughly alive to the facts in the case to be misled by sophistry, misrepresentation, fake editorials and pretended newsletters and items. The promoters of private-ownership of public utilities in England a few years ago tried through certain journals, notably the *London Times*, to check the rising current in favor of municipal-ownership through a campaign of misrepresentation. This, however, only resulted in an increased educational agitation and in a rapid growth of public sentiment in favor of public-ownership. So, we believe, it will be in this country. We doubt if the people can longer be deceived by the falsehoods, sophistry and ingenious juggling with figures by the keenest of hired special-pleaders. The revelations of the criminality of the railways, their systematic violation of civil and criminal statutes, their cruel discrimination in favor of trusts and monopolies, their crushing of competition, their oppressive freight-rates, their secret rebates and discriminations, and their conspiracies with such notable criminal corporations as the Armour Refrigerator-Car Company have been so glaring, and the disclosures have been so authentic in character that we believe that as soon as the newspapers begin their old tricks of apologizing for and pleading the cause of these arch-enemies of free government, the people will readily recognize the cloven foot, will quickly understand that they are in the presence of purchased agents of confessed law-breakers and exploiters of the people. The exposures of the methods of the public-service corporations which appeared in our editorial department in July should further serve to put the public on its guard against this enormously rich bureau of education for the further enrichment of the railway interests at the expense of the people.

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AT THE DAWN OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.*

A BOOK-STUDY.

THIS WORK by James H. Hyslop, formerly professor of ethics and logic in Columbia University, is the most important critical book relating to psychical research that has appeared during the present year. It cannot, of course, compare with the monumental contribution of the late F. W. H. Myers of Cambridge, England, entitled *Human Personality and Its Survival of Bodily Death*, for that work is encyclopedic in character, embracing the results of eighteen years of tireless investigation on the part of Mr. Myers and his illustrious *confrères* of the English Society for Psychical Research. The work by the great English scholar, however, is beyond the reach of many, owing to its price—twelve dollars net; while absorbing and alluring as the subject becomes under Mr. Myers' fascinating treatment, only those deeply interested in psychic science can be expected to peruse its more than twelve hundred pages. Professor Hyslop's treatise, though somewhat different in character, is intended for the general reading public who whether deeply interested in the subject or not desire to possess a general knowledge of the work that has been carried on under the rigid rules of modern scientific investigation by one of the most eminent bodies of scientists in the world.

Psychology, as we have before observed, has made less satisfactory advance than most other branches of scientific research since the dawn of our wonderful new age. It is still the dark continent in the wonder-world of modern science. Only the outer fringes of its coast line have been imperfectly explored; yet thanks to the painstaking labor of the members of the Society for Psychical Research and of certain independent critical investigators, comparatively great strides have been taken in recent years, while, what is still more important in the initial stages of such an investigation, a vast amount of phenomena has been examined, sifted and classified. This kind of preliminary work is as necessary to sound scientific advance as it is prosaic in character and wanting in the spectacular elements that attract superficial minds. But as

* *Science and a Future Life*. By James H. Hyslop, Ph. D., LL.D. Cloth. Pp. 372. Price, \$1.50 net. Boston: Herbert B. Turner & Company.

years pass the results of this work will become more and more appreciated by the thinking world. Nothing, in our judgment, can so effectively meet the rising tide of materialism that is so markedly present in church and society in general, due in part to the widespread skepticism born of the scientific temper of the age and reinforced by the artificiality, the feverish haste and the superficiality of the present, as the slowly accumulating facts relating to psychic science that are of evidential value to the most critical among candid investigators and that cannot be explained by the hypotheses of fraud, illusion or telepathy. We are living in an age dominated by the commercial and materialistic spirit, fatal at once to introspection, meditation or the calm that fosters the philosophic attitude of mind and to that idealism that lifts men on the wings of a lofty faith and makes the spiritual verities or ethics the dominating or overmastering influence of life.

Few people not conversant with the subject have any idea of the extent or scope of the work that has been carried forward during the past two decades by the Society for Psychical Research or the character of those engaged in this work. A short time before his death Mr. Gladstone, in a conversation with Mr. F. W. H. Myers, said of the work being accomplished by the Society for Psychical Research: "It is the most important work being done in the world to-day—by far the most important."

While shallow, ignorant and superficial minds sneer at this work, many of the foremost of the world's living scientists and thinkers are actively engaged in prosecuting the investigations of this society. Take, for example, the presidents, vice-presidents and general council of the society for the present year. Any one at all conversant with the scientific and educational world of critical thinkers will recognize in the following list a large number of the very flower of our present-day authoritative thinkers:

President, Professor Charles Richet. *Vice-Presidents*, Rt. Hon. A. J. Balfour, M.P., F.R.S.; Professor W. F. Barrett, F.R.S.; Sir William Crookes, F.R.S.; Professor J. H.

Hyslop, Ph.D.; Professor W. James, Harvard, U. S. A.; Professor S. P. Langley, Washington, U. S. A.; Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., D. Sc.; Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S.; The Rt. Rev. the Bishop of Ripon. *Council*, W. W. Baggally; The Rt. Hon. G. W. Balfour, M.P.; Professor W. F. Barrett, F.R.S.; Ernest N. Bennett; J. Milne Bramwell, M.B.; The Earl of Crawford and Balcarres, K.T., F.R. S.; G. Lowes Dickinson; Hon. Everard Feilding; The Rev. A. T. Fryer; F. N. Hales; Richard Hodgson, LL.D.; Sir Lawrence J. Jones, Bart.; Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S.; W. M'Dougall, M.Sc., M.B.; J. G. Piddington; St. George Lane Fox Pitt; Frank Podmore; Lord Rayleigh, F.R.S.; F. C. S. Schiller; Sydney C. Scott; A. F. Shand; Mrs. H. Sidgwick, Litt.D.; H. Arthur Smith; Lieut.-Col. G. L. LeM. Taylor; Professor J. J. Thomson, F.R.S.; Charles Lloyd Tuckey, M.D.; Mrs. A. W. Verrall.

Among the list of distinguished corresponding members are the following names:

Professor H. Beaunis, Villa Printemps, Le Cannet (Alpes-Maritimes) France; Professor Bernheim, Hôpital Civil, Nancy, France; Professor H. P. Bowditch, M.D., Harvard Medical School, Boston, U. S. A.; Professor Nicholas Murray Butler, Columbia University, New York, U. S. A.; Professor Th. Flournoy, The University, Geneva; Professor Stanley Hall, Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts, U. S. A.; Professor C. Lombroso, Turin, Italy; Dr. Romaine Newbold, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, U. S. A.; Professor E. C. Pickering, The Observatory, Cambridge, Massachusetts, U. S. A.; Professor Th. Ribot, Office of the *Revue Philosophique*, Paris; Professor N. Wagner, Imperial University, St. Petersburg; Dr. Otto G. Wetterstrand, Stockholm.

Professor Hyslop's book is unique in some respects. It is the work of a man who for many years was an agnostic with a strong bias toward materialism—a man who had come so completely under the influence of modern materialistic scientific theories that not only were the claims of religion that demanded faith without demonstrable proof valueless to him, but he was rather impatient with those who claimed the possible existence of evidence that pointed toward a probable life beyond the crisis of death. His personal investigations were long and rigidly scientific in char-

acter. Step by step he was led to accept the different claims made by those advanced psychologists who have investigated enough to know that there is far more to be learned in the psychic realm than the old-time psychologists had recognized. Telepathy was at length frankly accepted, and the theory of the subliminal self next gained credence. But at length the investigators came to groups of facts that were clearly not due to legerdemain or any kind of fraud and which could not be explained by telepathy or the over-worked hypothesis of the subliminal self, without stretching those hypotheses to absurd lengths. The presence of these well-attested facts has compelled a large number of former skeptics, including the late Mr. Myers, Professor Hyslop, Dr. Hodgson and Sir Oliver Lodge, to accept as warranted by evidence the fact that the discarnate spirit may communicate with the embodied.

This work is the product of a brain trained in the school of modern materialism, of a rigid logician and scientist who approached the subject with all preconceived bias against rather than in favor of the claims of those who believed that human personality survived death. Moreover, it is the work of a well-known scholar who as teacher of ethics and logic earned an honorable place among our leading educators; and therefore it is a volume that merits the earnest consideration of the more thoughtful of our people.

Science and a Future Life is divided into thirteen chapters, in which the following subjects are discussed: "Origin of Psychic Research," "General Problems and Results," "The Problem of a Future Life," "History of the Piper Case," "Incidents from the English Report," "Dr. Hodgson's First Report," "Dr. Hodgson's Second Report," "Personal Experiments and Results," "The Telepathic Hypothesis," "The Spiritistic Hypothesis," "Difficulties and Objections," "Conditions Affecting the 'Communications,'" and "Ethical Meaning and Results."

The chapter on "The Problem of a Future Life" is one of the strongest and most thought-compelling arguments on the subject that has been written in recent years. It is by no means a special plea. On the contrary, seldom if ever have the objections to the theory of a future life as advanced by leading materialists been so succinctly or forcibly stated in the same space as in this discussion. With all the power of one who has once held the ma-

terialistic theory to be impregnable and with the force of a true logician, he states the case and presents the arguments of the materialists. This chapter should be read by all clergymen, as it would reveal to them one of the reasons why so many thousands of thoughtful people to-day, even though nominally members of the church on the theory that it is well to be on the safe side, nevertheless live and act as no sane people would live and act if they had an overmastering faith in the actuality of another life.

The chapters relating to the work of the English Society for Psychical Research and the history of the Piper case are extremely interesting, yet hardly so thought-arresting, perhaps, as Professor Hyslop's story of his own investigations; for here the personality of the author adds something to the interest owing to the confidence he has inspired in his readers both as to the sincerity of the man and his competence to judge evidence and weigh conclusions. The chapters on "The Telepathic Hypothesis," "Difficulties and Objections," and "Conditions Affecting the 'Communications'" are particularly thought-stimulating and rich in suggestions; while the concluding chapter, devoted to the "Ethical Meaning and Results" is the most profoundly thoughtful discussion of this subject we have perused. This chapter alone is worth many times the price of the book to any earnest, thoughtful man, and we heartily wish every clergyman in America could be induced to read it. In it our author in a lucid and masterful manner shows how when philosophical skepticism obtained mastery in Greece, the old-time belief in the gods was destroyed and the Greek mind turned with passionate love to the worship of art, but morals declined and aristocratic and imperialistic concepts replaced the old idealism.

"When Christianity came it was a revolt against both the philosophy and the politics of Greece. Its philosophy was theistic and its politics were democratic. It asserted the created nature of the material world and placed an infinite spirit behind the phenomenal world, and in man it placed a finite spirit which survived death, and associated this belief with a morality that involved the brotherhood of man. But in this revolt, like all reactions, Christianity laid such stress upon a future life and upon an ascetic morality for the present existence that its whole history has been in-

fectured with an unnatural disease. It even forgot the brotherhood of man with which it started and concentrated all its interests in the life beyond the grave, and subordinated all its social, moral, ecclesiastical and political machinery to the end of personal salvation in another world. . . . The selfish instincts of ancient individual life became an absorbing and passionate personal interest in individual salvation; and the social life of the community, whose regeneration it started to effect by the moral reformation of the individual, was abandoned for personal happiness beyond the grave. To purchase this the earthly life had to be made ascetic and external social duties were the price of this trans-mortal salvation. The outcome of this movement was the social, political and moral orgies of the middle ages when every principle of Christianity was sacrificed to persecution, bad government, hypocrisy, superstition, barbarism, and such debaucheries as a low economic development would permit. Among the lower strata of society the original conceptions prevailed sufficiently to preserve the social system; but for this the anarchy of Greco-Roman civilization at its end would have repeated history. But it maintained itself in poverty, ignorance and superstition, while the intellectuals played the game of tyranny and hypocrisy.

"The Renaissance put an end to this. It released from bondage the three most potent forces in modern civilization, political liberty, industrial development, and scientific method. They only slowly followed the reformation, but their efficiency was sure and irresistible. They revived culture after ancient models while they preserved some of the humanitarian enthusiasm which had been the teaching but not the practice of so many centuries. The consequence has been the application of morals to the improvement of the present life. The movement was accompanied by the growth of skepticism and materialism, which have permeated all the strata of cultivated and intellectual society."

We to-day have reached a period when the people have so far come under the influence of the skepticism and materialistic concepts of the age that while millions hold perfunctorily to the tenets of creeds and dogmas and contribute liberally to the exchequer of the church, it has lost its old-time hold upon the imagination to such a degree that the life of

the masses is no longer dominated by the moral ideals of duty and service which are the supreme excellencies of Christian ethics. Professor Hyslop, in pointing out why the present age demands positive evidence of a future life in order to exalt the ideals of the nation, shows most clearly the power and glory of Primitive Christianity when it aroused the antagonism of ancient Roman civilization:

"Morality to be effective must have some certainties in the casual series of events or it will be largely inoperative. Hence if we are to use a future life as a motive power in conduct at all we must assure ourselves that it is a fact and that it represents some degree of progress as the result of effort in the present life.

"In spite of all the evils that have been associated with the abuses of Christian thought the belief in immortality has had an important influence and it is worth remarking. In a discussion elsewhere of ancient political institutions and their sacrifice of the individual, I said: 'Christianity created a revolution in this respect. It was a direct assault upon ancient morality and an indirect assault upon its politics. This was effected by changing the content and the direction, but not the point-of-view of the individualism that regulated ancient private life. I have said that ancient morality was confined to civic ends. But private conduct was under the dominion of personal interest, and this was materialistic, being sensuous satisfaction and wealth based upon slavery. Christian civilization was spiritualistic and its individualism was not only concentrated upon immaterial ideas, but also required the sacrifice of the present to the future and the subordination of self to the welfare of others. This change in content and direction of conduct was accomplished by its doctrine of the immortality of the soul. Usually this belief is assumed to represent a purely religious conception with no political importance whatever. But it was in fact the profoundest political force in history, and with its associated social and moral conceptions was both a revolutionizing and a regenerating influence for higher civilization. The more we examine into the nature of this doctrine, the motives to which it appealed, the moral equality which it proclaimed even between master and slave, the promises and hopes which it held out to the poor, its contempt for riches and abandonment of ancient political ideals and ends, the more we must

recognize the natural antagonism which it aroused in pagan Rome with the prevailing devotion to the secular and military ideal. Patriotism and the virtues of soldiers and citizens directed only toward material happiness and national glory were not likely to characterize men whose aspirations were occupied with a spiritual world beyond the grave. Hence antiquity showed a perfectly natural and logical instinct when it endeavored by all the means in its power to crush the new society; for its conception of the brotherhood of man, of human rights, its indifference to politics, and the firmness and austerity of its conscience were moral forces that sounded the death-knell of a civilization which was based upon mere power.

"The revolutionary influence which was exerted by the doctrine of immortality was caused by the *value which it put upon the individual*. In Greek thought all moral values were placed in abstract institutions. The only approach to spiritual ideals that Greco-Roman civilization produced was found in the welfare of the state and the sacrifice of individual life and conduct to it. But Christianity put this value in the concrete individual for whom institutions existed, and not he for institutions. . . . Hence it is no wonder that Christianity was so violently attacked by Paganism. This inversion of the ancient political ideal, the substitution of the spiritual kingdom of God for the material splendor of civic grandeur, and the installation of the rights of the individual against the absolute rights of the sovereign were revolutionary forces of incomparable magnitude, and made modern democracy inevitable. Imperialism and military ideals were impossible where citizens sought peace on earth, good-will toward men, and supernal bliss in a transcendental world after death."

Our author holds that not only has the belief in immortality proved a powerful factor in advancing and maintaining ethical ideals, but is essential to the triumph of democracy.

"The ideals of democracy will live or die with the belief in immortality. Christianity boasted of its freight of hope to the poor and of its placing men on an equality before the world. It taught us that man shall not live by bread alone, and that riches were not the pathway into the kingdom of God. . . . Wealth brings what is called refinement and culture based upon the exploitation of the un-

avored classes; but the milk of human kindness is not so warm and healthy as in the spontaneous helpfulness of the poor. It makes a virtue of charity, but this is quite as often a sop thrown to Cerberus to prevent him from swallowing us as it is a wise philanthropy. It is all very well for the rich and cultured to tell us we should have no personal interest in a future life and thus appear to be very disinterested in their views of life, when the fact is that this is only a subterfuge to escape the duty to share with labor and suffering the fruits of a selfish exploitation of them."

Professor Hyslop also discusses after the

manner of a logician who is dominated by ethical ideals the two concepts of life: the one which conceives the present existence to be all of man's being, and that larger theory of the world that comprehends the present existence as a link in an endless chain or as a stage in an age-long growth. This whole chapter is a masterly treatise; clear, concise, yet lucid, fascinating and convincing; a discussion which no man or woman who thinks should fail to read.

Science and a Future Life is one of the few books of the year that broad-visioned, thinking men should place upon their library shelves.

BOOKS OF THE DAY.*

American Navigation. By William W. Bates. Cloth. Pp. 466. Price, \$3.00 net. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

THIS work, which deals with the political history of the rise and ruin of American navigation and the proper means for its encouragement, is one of the most exhaustive and authoritative histories of this highly important subject that has been written. The author is an ex-United States Commissioner of Navigation and the author of *The American Marine* and other important works on American shipping. He was for some time the editor of *The Nautical Magazine and Naval Journal*.

The work, which is a large volume containing twenty-two chapters, has special interest at the present time when under the cry of "American shipping for American commerce," certain over-rich men among our high financiers are seeking to further tax the American people by securing subsidies that will add enormously to the wealth and power of plutocracy, which has already become the greatest menace to the republic through its corrupting influence exerted for the securing of unfair advantages or special privileges by which the millions have been placed at the mercy of the few. Mr. Bates shows how our navigation was built up by wise and sane laws and how through the removal of the early fostering legislation it was destroyed. Not in subsidies, which are merely an attempt of

the few to rob through taxation all the taxpayers, but in a return to the early legal aid lies, according to our author, the hope of a great American commercial marine.

This work is one that should appeal to all true statesmen, though it will doubtless meet with scant favor with the political grafters who are seeking through legislation to further deplete the pockets of all the people, that another vast and oppressive trust may be enabled to further corrupt government and enslave the masses. The author is probably the ablest living authority on this subject, and we cordially recommend the work to all thoughtful people. It is exhaustive in character, but is written in a clear and pleasing style and is fully indexed and admirably arranged, so as to assist busy students in quickly finding any special subject.

Briefs on Public Questions. By R. C. Ringwalt, A.B., LL.B. Cloth. Pp. 230. Price, \$1.20 net. New York: Longmans, Green & Company.

IN THIS extremely valuable volume the author presents briefs for and against the following subjects: "Naturalization," "Woman Suffrage," "Negro Suffrage," "An Educational Qualification for Suffrage," "The Restriction of Immigration," "Chinese Immigration," "Direct Legislation," "Proportional Representation," "The Popular Election of Senators," "The Retention of the Philippines," "The Monroe Doctrine," "Protection and

*Books intended for review in THE ARENA should be addressed to B. O. Flower, Editorial Department, THE ARENA, Boston, Mass.

Free Trade," "Commercial Reciprocity," "Reciprocity with Canada," "Shipping Subsidies," "Trusts," "An Asset Currency," "Postal Savings Banks," "Government Ownership of Railways," "A Postal Telegraph," "Municipal Transportation," "A Federal Divorce Law," "The Single Tax," "Compulsory Industrial Arbitration," and "Government by Injunction."

Each brief is preceded by a short statement showing the essential facts involved in the question and why it is important. Next follows a brief but admirable bibliography of the works in favor of and opposed to the question under consideration, after which the briefs are given which contain the important arguments that have been advanced for and against the subject under consideration. Great judgment and fairness have been displayed by the author, who has been able to sink personal considerations to a marked degree in his effort to impartially present a brief outline of the principal arguments on each subject discussed. To young men and women in schools, colleges and universities such a work will be invaluable, and it is a book that merits wide general circulation because of the importance and timeliness of the subject-matter presented, the ability and discrimination displayed in its preparation and the extremely valuable bibliographies. Friends of *THE ARENA* will be pleased to see that this magazine is one of the most frequently cited authorities on the progressive and democratic sides of most of the topics treated, notably such subjects as Direct-Legislation, Proportional Representation, the Single-Tax, the trusts, postal telegraph, governmental ownership of railways, government by injunction and compulsory industrial arbitration.

The Outlook Beautiful. By Lilian Whiting. Cloth. Pp. 182. Price, \$1.00 net. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

THE PRESENT work by the well-known and popular author of the "World Beautiful" books deals with the mystery of death and the relation between the life of to-day and that of the coming day when each shall have passed beyond the vale of death. The volume is inscribed to Archdeacon Wilberforce by the author, who, though a member of the Episcopal Church, is also a strong believer in the central claims of modern spiritualism. Miss Whiting is one of the broadest-visioned and

most truly catholic authors among orthodox thinkers with whose writings we are acquainted. She has studied the literature of liberalism, of spiritualism, and the philosophy of the East almost as painstakingly as she has considered the writings of the great churchmen, and in each system of faith or philosophy she has found much that is good, inspiring and uplifting, and this wheat of truth she has freely garnered, refusing to reject that which is high, fine and instinct with potential help because it comes from schools of faith and thought with which she is far from being in full accord. This wise and judicious eclecticism makes all her writings peculiarly rich in vital truth that is especially needed to-day, when the most thoughtful men and women are turning from the husks of creeds, dogmas and profitless theological formulæ and are seeking the living waters that rejuvenate the moral nature and transform the life of man.

The present volume is divided into seven chapters, in which the following subjects are discussed in the happy and suggestive manner peculiar to all Miss Whiting's work: "The Delusion of Death," "Realizing the Ideal," "Friendship as a Divine Relation," "The Ethereal World," "The Supreme Purpose of Jesus," "An Inward Stillness," and "The Miracle Moment May Dawn on Any Hour."

In this work Miss Whiting appears to have reached depths and heights not attained in her earlier works, and though perhaps not so popular in style and presentation as her other books, it is unusually rich in helpful thought for those who enjoy transcendental and broadly religious discussions.

Moral Education. By Edward Howard Griggs. Cloth. Pp. 352. New York: B. W. Huebsch.

THIS volume should be carefully read by every parent and teacher in the land. It is a work at once eminently practical and yet nobly idealistic. Professor Griggs here treats one of the most vital subjects that confronts civilization, from the high plane of the spiritually enlightened thinker. He has considered his subject deeply and treats it as only a man of rare insight, a true philosopher and a practical teacher could present a theme. We have far too few practical idealists, too few men and women who are dominated by the higher concepts and yet who are sanely practical in ideas and methods. Professor Griggs belongs to

this select coterie. The volume contains twenty-five chapters in which are discussed "The Child World," "The Unity of Human Life," "The Uniqueness of Each Personality," "The Growth-Process of Human Life," "The Two Principles of Moral Evolution," "The Relations of Moral Culture to Other Aspects of Education," "The Type of Character Moral Education Should Foster," "Types of Activity," "Moral Education Through Play," "Moral Education Through Work," "The Moral Influence of Environment: Art and Nature," "Moral Influence of the Social Atmosphere," "Principles of Government in Home and School," "The Progressive Application of Democracy in Home and School Government," "The Nature and Function of Corrective Discipline," "The Administration of Corrective Discipline," "Personal Influence of Parent and Teacher in the Government of Children," "Moral Teaching by Example," "Direct Ethical Instruction," "Ethical Instruction Through Other Subjects: History," "The Ethical Value of Mythology and Folk-Lore," "The Value of Literature for Ethical Instruction and Inspiration," "The Practical Use of History and Literature for Ethical Instruction," "Instruction in the Intimate Problems of Human Life," and "The Relation of Moral to Religious Education."

This is a book that all readers of *THE ARENA* should possess for their libraries.

The Breath of the Gods. By Sidney McCall. Cloth. Pp. 431. Price, \$1.50. Boston: Little, Brown & Company.

WHETHER considered as a romance or simply as literature, *The Breath of the Gods* is one of the most important novels of recent years by an American. When *Truth Dexter* appeared it was received with pleasure by lovers of pure, sane, wholesome novels, who were surfeited by the flood of swashbuckling and sanguinary so-called historical novels that were crowding the market. The heroine of that novel was one of the finest and most lovable modern heroines of fiction and we imagine that many of the author's admirers have waited somewhat impatiently for another romance from his gifted pen. Yet the novelist has shown commendable wisdom in taking three or four years to create another work, and the result richly justifies the time expended.

The Breath of the Gods is one of the most artistic novels of the year, and yet this and

its compelling influence over the mind are minor excellences compared with the keen insight, the strength and power with which the author has seized upon and contrasted the fundamental differences between Oriental and Occidental civilization as represented by the political and social life of Washington and the life of the awakened Japanese. In this story, it seems to us, the author has struck the keynote of Japan's power. He has revealed the secret of her wonderful series of victories over the might of Russia, and in like manner he has hinted at the essential weakness of Occidental civilization. Japan is dominated by idealism. A compelling faith is hers. The children of Nippon are ready to place life without a murmur upon the altar of duty. They see life in a larger way than do we. To them there are things far greater than the little span of three score years allotted to the infinitesimal units who to-day make up the inhabitants of the globe.

Now whenever idealism, whether it centers itself in a noble religious ideal, or a lofty concept of life, or a passionate love of the fatherland or the home, or in some other noble concept that dominates life and subordinates selfish concern for one's own existence, men and nations become invincible. It was this idealism, burning as a living fire in the brain of the forlorn hope of Greece at Marathon that made the relatively small force invincible before the might and power of Persia, and it was this spirit also that won the great marine victory at Salamis. It is the presence of idealism, burning with consuming heat and dazzling light in the heart of the Japanese, that has made the arms of the Mikado on sea and land equally victorious.

With us idealism is on the wane, and in proportion as it has waned have we exalted the golden calf. In proportion as we have ceased to be moral leaders of the world have we clamored for a great navy and an increased armament. In proportion as we have let go of the great fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence have we sought to centralize power and to imitate the effete and reactionary governments of the Old World. In proportion as religion has lost its hold on the heart of man and ethics on the brain of our youth have we reared costly cathedrals and mighty educational edifices, but all the while materialistic commercialism has been steadily becoming more and more the controlling passion in business life, while its deadly in-

fluence has extended to the church, the college and the home. All this time the idealism, the poetry, the simplicity and the fine sincerity and honesty of earlier days has waned, while graft, corruption and venality have flourished on every hand.

What is true of us in regard to the absence of idealism is doubly true of the government in Russia. The reigning house and the bureaucracy have not had the splendid ideals which Americans have had as a pillar of fire before their eyes, and consequently the absence of idealism is even more marked with them than with us, and the successive defeats that have come to Russia, like the defeats of Persia when she warred against the Greeks, are the legitimate results of materialism, artificiality and commercialism attempting by brute force to crush idealism.

Now without any didactic utterances, without the author apparently having these facts in mind, he has written a story that in the telling deals with typical phases of Japanese and Occidental life and typically represents these two worlds in such a manner as to impress these facts.

The Breath of the Gods opens in Washington, and there are some admirably drawn pictures of Washington high life. In time the scene shifts to Japan. The heroine is a beautiful Japanese maiden. She is loved by an emotional young Frenchman. She also possesses many staunch friends among the Americans with whom she has lived and been educated. The daughter of Senator Todd, the American minister to Japan, is her most intimate friend, and the senator is almost a second father to her. Mentally overmastered by the impetuous and poetic Frenchman, the Japanese girl consents to become his bride. This is something that her family will not brook. She is isolated and later marries Prince Hagané, a powerful war-chief of the Mikado's host. From thenceforth the story takes on the atmosphere of tragedy and the reader is carried by its power and a peculiar haunting fascination from page to page toward the somber climax, almost in spite of his will, for at each successive step he is made to feel that he is approaching one of those tragedies which once witnessed can never be forgotten. And yet it is in these pages that are found not only the most powerful passages of the novel, but the revelation of the strength of purpose that a concept or belief will infuse into the life of a beautiful girl, making death

for her nation and honor something more to be desired than the bridal robes.

We doubt if any American writer has given us a truer or more intimate insight into the life and the spiritual and intellectual concepts of the Japanese than has the author of *The Breath of the Gods*. It is a novel which though gloomy in some respects is richly worth the reading.

Hesper. A Romance of the Rockies. By Hamlin Garland. Cloth. Pp. 446. Price, \$1.50. New York: Harper Brothers.

IN THE AUGUST ARENA we made an extended study of Hamlin Garland's latest romance, *The Tyranny of the Dark*. *Hesper* is a novel of an entirely different character. It is first of all a wholesome love story of absorbing interest. Its characters are true to life. There are no manikins or painted dolls in *Hesper*, and what is more, it is a fine study of the development of a splendid type of womanhood who, removed from the moral enervation and artificiality of the life of our over-rich Gothamites and placed among the rugged, true-hearted men of the West, blossoms into full-orbed womanhood. This gives a very real ethical value to the story which opens with Anne Rupert, the heroine, starting west with her invalid brother, Louis, who is threatened with consumption. The boy is an idealist, a poet and an artist by nature. He has a passionate desire to see the West, as he possesses his father's journal containing an account of the trip of the parent in his youth—a glowing account, for the father was also an idealist. He has, however, been dead many years.

Anne, who was christened by her father Hesper, is a spoiled child of wealth, a victim of *ennui*. She has been surfeited on all that wealth and frivolous, fashionable society can give, and has settled into a state of disagreeable cynicism. In going west with her brother she opens the gate to a new life, for she subordinates her selfish desires to the unselfish love for her brother, and this generous act leads her through a long and tortuous pilgrimage to the summit of felicity. For here the artificial life falls away. Here amid the rugged and rough environment and with stirring and often tragic events crowding upon each other, the true or higher nature of the girl responds to the call of love. The romance presents a splendid picture of the steady unfolding of a naturally fine character who through

self-absorption and wealth had been so isolated from the great Mother that life had become a hollow mockery, so artificial that its victim no longer recognized its artificiality.

This story is a fine companion volume to *The Captain of the Gray Horse Troop*, reviewed some time ago in *THE ARENA*. Both are robust American tales of love that are wholesome, inspiring and calculated to make for a finer manhood and womanhood.

Whitman: The Poet-Liberator of Woman.
By Mabel MacCoy Irwin. Cloth. Pp. 77. Published by the author at 14 West 104th Street, New York City.

WHITMAN has had many fulsome eulogists, some discriminating and just critics and not a few blind and brutal assailants; but among all those who have written favorably of the "good gray poet," we think the Rev. Mabel MacCoy Irwin has come nearest to reaching the heart of the man and his message. Her recently-published little work on *Whitman: The Poet-Liberator of Woman*, is far more than a noble tribute to one of the most fearless, robust and truly democratic poets of the nineteenth century. Whitman had his faults and limitations, as do we all, but to us there seems no shadow of question but what he was a true prophet and in a very large way a fundamental thinker. Few men possess so great a degree of moral courage as did this poet. Indeed, in this respect we think he often went to unnecessary extremes, evincing a recklessness in his handling of the most sacred and delicate subjects that detracted greatly from the efficiency of his protest and message. Doubtless he saw the canker everywhere eating into the vitals of public morality under the robe of smug conventionalism. He saw the holiest function degraded and lust usurping the throne of sacred love to such a degree that sex functions were being shamefully perverted, to the great hurt of the race, and he strove to shock conventionalism out of its fatal lethargy. He believed that by compelling the old order to take cognizance of abuses that flourished under a conspiracy of silence he would inaugurate a wholesome revolution, and in order to do this he went to extremes such as he well knew would awaken a tremendous protest. Mrs. Irwin finds woman's enfranchisement from the domination of man, and especially from the essential sex-slavery of centuries of domination in which woman had no control

over her body, to be the keynote of Whitman's message. He is the knight-errant of modern womanhood, and it is to woman, the slave of convention and of the unbridled passion of man, that he calls:

"What place is besieged and vainly tries to raise the siege?"

Lo! I send to that place a commander, swift, brave, immortal;

And with him horse and foot—and parks of artillery, And artillerymen, the deadliest that ever fired gun."

"Whitman, with penetrating vision," says our author, "saw the knot of man's misconception which held woman in bondage, and riveted his own chains, and he set himself to its untying. His was the universal vision, and his a universal work. Wherever humanity lay in the bondage of ignorance; wherever wrongs held men and women captive, he spoke the words to let in the light, and he broke the chains to set the captive free. To all places besieged with errors—hoary with age—he sent a commander—the swift, brave, immortal words of truth. He found woman—the mother of the race—in bondage, crushed under the heel of her self-acknowledged inferiority, with no poet to champion her cause or set her free, and for her he began to sing his immortal songs:

"Daughter of the lands, did you wait for your poet?
Did you wait for one with a flowing mouth and indicative hand?"

"I am the poet of the woman the same as the man,
And I say it is as great to be a woman as to be a man,
And I say there is nothing greater than the mother of men."

Whitman found everywhere a condition of sex inequality, and against this injustice he raised his protest:

"This false idea Whitman saw could be remedied only by letting in upon it the light of truth, bringing men and women to a primal sanity; and there is no doubt but that this full, wholesome, unveiled admiration and exaltation of sex shall, in the end, prove the precipient that shall order and direct it into channels of purity and health.

"In Whitman's dealing with matters of sex, there is one thing most noticeable: he never dissociates the use of sex-function from parenthood."

The entire essay is carefully reasoned and discriminating. It is the work of a deeply

thoughtful woman who far more than most of our present-day conscience-guided women, reasons fundamentally and who has the courage to bravely discuss one of the greatest questions of the hour from the point-of-view of one who fearlessly goes to the root of the question and who demands that justice obtain and that the holiest functions of life shall not be perverted, and that immorality shall not continue to fester under the cover of silence imposed by conventionalism.

Broadcast. By Ernest Crosby. Cloth. Pp. 126. Price, 75 cents net. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company.

MR. CROSBY is a charming prose writer. When he essays verse he is less felicitous, and though for the most part his writings are instinct with virile thought, there is an absence of the pleasing rhythm and musical cadence that give charm to well-written verse. There is also the absence of that imaginative quality that in Mr. Crosby's great master not unfrequently lifted his verse above the dead level of most of Whitman's contemporaries. We know the arguments advanced for disregarding the laws of versification. We are told that it gives greater freedom for the adequate expression of thought and enables the poet to give his imagination free wings; that the laws of rhyme are artificial and tend to destroy the greatness of a true poet's work. All this may be true and doubtless is measurably true, but we have few great poets, few men of genius or imagination; and much of the writings of Whitman's disciples and imitators has proved highly unsatisfactory in all respects.

Mr. Crosby's work as a whole is redeemed by the value of his message, yet one cannot feel when reading his lines that he is the presence of a poet so much as of a moralist. His thoughts are the fruit of reason rather than the children of imagination. He is the ethical philosopher far more than the poet, and we believe that if he would throw all attempts at versification to the winds and write his lines in straight prose, it would be far more satisfactory.

The present volume, though inferior to *Plain Talk in Psalm and Parable*, contains much that is thought-stimulating and helpful. This is especially true of "Democracy," the opening poem, if we may call it such. The following examples from this writing are in-

stinct with excellent thoughts and well illustrate the style of Mr. Crosby's verse:

"I saw laws and customs and creeds and Bibles rising like emanations from men and women.

I saw the men and women bowing down and worshipping these cloudy shapes, and I saw the shapes turn upon them and rend them.

Nay, but men and women are the supreme facts!

How rarely have men revered the truly reverend, and respected the truly respectable!

How much of reverence has been, and still is, mere fetish-worship!

Reverence for Moloch and Juggernaut, who shall count its victims?

Respect for tyrants and despots, for lying priests and blind teachers, how it has darkened the pages of history!

There is only one true respect, the respect for the conscious life that fulfils its true function.

Revere humanity wherever you find it, in the judge or in the farmhand, but do not revere any institution or office or writing.

As soon as anything outside of divine humanity is revered and respected, it becomes dangerous,—

And every step forward in the annals of man has been over the prostrate corpse of some ancient unmasked reverence.

A strange lot this, to be dropped down in a world of barbarians,—

Men who see clearly enough the barbarity of all ages except their own,—

Who shudder at the thought of wheel and fagot, of putrid heads displayed not so long ago on Temple Bar,—of stinking corpses hanging in chains along the highways while vultures devoured them,—of mere boys put to death for stealing a shilling,—and who notwithstanding are snugly contented with the survival of gibbets and the happy invention of electrocution chairs,—

Who are outraged at the picture of black priests hovering about the flames of an *auto-da-fé*, but applaud their successors to-day as they encourage with their blessings the butchery of war,—

Who deplore the ancient miseries of the galleys, the torture of witnesses, the agonies of captives crucified or given to the lions, but see nothing wrong in our overcrowded prisons, our vice-breeding jails and our cold, relentless machinery of justice,—

Who look down on the ages when there were no societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals, and yet are blind to the horrors of our abattoirs and laboratories, and take pleasure in killing and maiming helpless birds and harmless little brother beasts,—

Who condemn the brutality of the Spanish Inquisition, but sanction the writhing pains of the battlefield, the sabred face, the dynamite gun and the dum-dum bullet,—

Who abhor chattel slavery, but accept the dismal, hopeless enslavement of factory hands and the starvation of thousands out of work as heaven-born arrangements,—

Who sing peans over the fall of political despotism, while they have scarcely a word of criticism for the industrial tyrants who tread us under foot,

And who—strangest of all—are absolutely ignorant of the fact that future generations will consider them just as barbarous as their predecessors. It is a curious destiny indeed to be planted in the midst of such a people."

When our author essays straight poetry he is less happy than in his Whitmanesque moods. The following verses from a poem entitled "Wine of Eternity" illustrate this fact:

"God took a vial from its place,
His throne a span beyond,
And spilled into a chalice-glass
Its drops of diamond,
Which sparkled in the light of His face
Like brilliants of Golcond.

They set it on a step below—
This urn of mystery—
And on it write as angels do,
'Wine of Eternity,'
So that the tiniest cherubs know
What dangerous drink it be."

The more we read Mr. Crosby's writings, the more profoundly are we convinced that he is above all else a moralist and a teacher, and that prose is the field of literature in which he is most effective.

Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster. By Ernest Crosby. Cloth. Pp. 94. Price, 50 cents. Chicago: The Hammersmark Company.

THIS little volume is an excellent companion work to the author's *Tolstoy and His Message*. Both are volumes that sympathetic admirers of the great prophet of Russia will prize. In the study of *Tolstoy as a Schoolmaster* Mr.

Crosby has given us the views and practices of the Count when he conducted a school after the liberation of serfs and the results attending his work. It is a highly suggestive and valuable little book for teachers and parents, written in a lucid, direct and engaging style.

An Embarrassing Orphan. By W. E. Norris. Illustrated. Cloth. Pp. 316. Price, \$1.00. Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Company.

THIS is a love story dealing with an orphan, the child of an English gentleman whose life has been spent in the United States and other nations. The orphan is rather unconventional and at times quite embarrassing to her staid English uncle. Though for a time the love affairs of the young lady and her English lover are anything but promising, all ends in the conventionally satisfactory way. The hero secures the girl. She turns out to be an heiress, and all are supremely happy.

The story is not particularly well-written and should rank with scores of novels that are now flooding the market and which will serve no better purpose than to aid the reader to while away a few hours of unemployed time. We cannot recommend such books. There are too many really good novels that are at once valuable as literature and also thought-stimulating which should engage the attention of fiction readers, as they have a double educational value while serving the purpose of affording healthful entertainment.

NOTES AND COMMENTS.

THE THEATER OF EDMOND ROSTAND: PROFESSOR HENDERSON'S CHARACTERIZATION OF ROSTAND AND HIS WORK. Professor ARCHIBALD HENDERSON's series of papers which have been a strong feature of THE ARENA this year have justly attracted general attention, liberal notices having been made of them by certain English and Australian journals as well as by leading American papers. But excellent as have been the preceding papers, his criticism on "The Theater of Edmond Rostand" which appears in this issue is, we think, the strongest and most brilliant essay that has yet come from his gifted pen. Few critics of the present day possess in so eminent a degree as does this author the ability to enter into sympathetic rapport with a

subject so completely that for the time being he seems to feel what the poet and dramatist saw and felt so perfectly that he is able to justly and faithfully interpret the message. A critic possessed of this power and who is also discriminating and poised as is our author, cannot fail to illuminate his subject and be helpful to all readers. To be able to enter the holiest of holies of the man of genius and see the workings of his brain requires a certain degree of genius not apparent in the writings of most present-day cynical and oftentimes superficial critics. Our readers will find a rare treat in Professor HENDERSON's noble pen-picture of the gifted son of France who has in a real way electrified and rejuvenated her theater.

Direct-Legislation: The Chief Objections Examined: In the August ARENA we published a clear and succinct exposition of the initiative and referendum, under the title of "A Vast Educational Scheme," which was prepared for THE ARENA by ELTWEED POMEROY, the president of the National Direct-Legislation League. This month we publish a carefully-prepared paper by Judge CHARLES SUMNER LOBINGIER, of the Court of First Instance of the Philippine Islands, in which he judicially reviews the leading objections that have been urged against direct-legislation. These two papers are of special value to friends of democracy. If we are to preserve the republic of our fathers in its essential purity we must make the fundamental demands of democracy the object of paramount consideration and meet the changed conditions of the present by the introduction of simple measures that will preserve in purity, simplicity and integrity a government of the people, by the people and for the people—a government in which the people shall be the source and final arbiters of law. And these things so absolutely vital to democracy are all compassed by the introduction and practical operation of the initiative, referendum and the right of recall—measures that have been amply tested and have proved efficient.

An Amazing Revelation of Immense Historical Value: Under the apt title of "The Powers Upon the Throne," the Hon. J. WARNER MILLS in this issue treats the first part of his exhaustive and powerful portrayal of the dominant trusts and corporations of Colorado. The story is far more than an amazing and almost incredible revelation or an impressive and picturesque marshaling of the cold but sinister facts of recent months and years by one of the ablest members of the American bar; for inestimable as is the value of the ominous historical record, its greatest importance for patriotic Americans lies in its vivid description of the new despotism that has grown up in our midst and through lavish expenditure of wealth, through exalting its tools and destroying the incorruptible tribunes of the people, and through corrupt practices and a union in fact even when not in seeming against the people, has become a danger of the first magnitude, as fatal to clean government and free institutions as it is cruelly oppressive to the people and demoralizing to public servants. This disease, which Mr. MILLS is so circumstantially and specifically diagnosing, is no more confined to Colorado than is the evil of Russian bureaucracy confined to St. Petersburg, Moscow or Odessa. All over the republic, in city, state and nation, this blighting curse is rapidly undermining republican institutions and with the tribute wrung from the millions by indirection is debauching government in all its ramifications and bulwarking itself in every department of the state. The concrete example of the spoliation of the people by corporate wealth and the destruction of republican institutions, though more aggravated in Colorado than in most states, is a true pen-picture of the over-

shadowing peril, the supreme menace, that confronts democracy to-day; and for this reason the careful perusal of this paper should be made a religious duty by every high-minded man and woman in this great nation.

Tainted Money and the Church: We call the special attention of our readers to the masterly paper contributed to this issue of THE ARENA by the Rev. GEORGE FREDERICK PENTECOST, D.D. It is, we think, one of the strongest, if not the strongest defence of the ethics of Christianity against the assaults of the apologists of modern "high finance" and sordid materialistic commercialism that has yet appeared. Dr. PENTECOST takes up, one by one, the shallow sophistries that have been so glibly circulated by decadent and recreant clergymen and educators, and shows how utterly fallacious they are and how essentially immoral are the claims that have been advanced by those greedy for the acquired wealth of multimillionaires.

Dependent Children and the State: We take special pleasure in publishing this month a paper from the pen of one of the old and popular contributors to THE ARENA. Many members of the THE ARENA family who were its constant readers in its early years will call to mind the original and thoughtful papers contributed by Rabbi SOLOMON SCHINDLER, who at that time was rabbi of the congregation Adath Israel, of Boston. Since then Mr. SCHINDLER has become superintendent of a well-known home of orphan Hebrew children and for infirm and aged members of that race. His work has been eminently successful and satisfactory to the management, and it has also enabled him to make a careful study of the State's obligations to dependent young.

Mr. Powell on the Present Struggle Between Autocracy and Democracy in the Republic: In this issue we publish the last paper in Mr. POWELL's series dealing with the four great struggles between autocracy and democracy in the United States. The author is a careful historian and a firm believer in the traditions of our fathers. The present paper is as timely as it is important and makes a fine complement to the typical illustrations given by Mr. MILLS in his revelations of the autocratic aggressions of corporate wealth in Colorado.

Birds and Bird-Interpreters: Dr. Charles C. Abbott has never been accused of weakness in expressing his opinions as to a certain type of "Naturalist" whose work is done in other places than nature's own realm. Though one rarely hears of them from the good doctor, or from those of his friends who respect his wishes, enough richly-deserved honors have come to him from the learned bodies and the seats of the mighty to turn the heads of many less absorbed in what is to him the passion of a lifetime. His article will richly repay the reading.